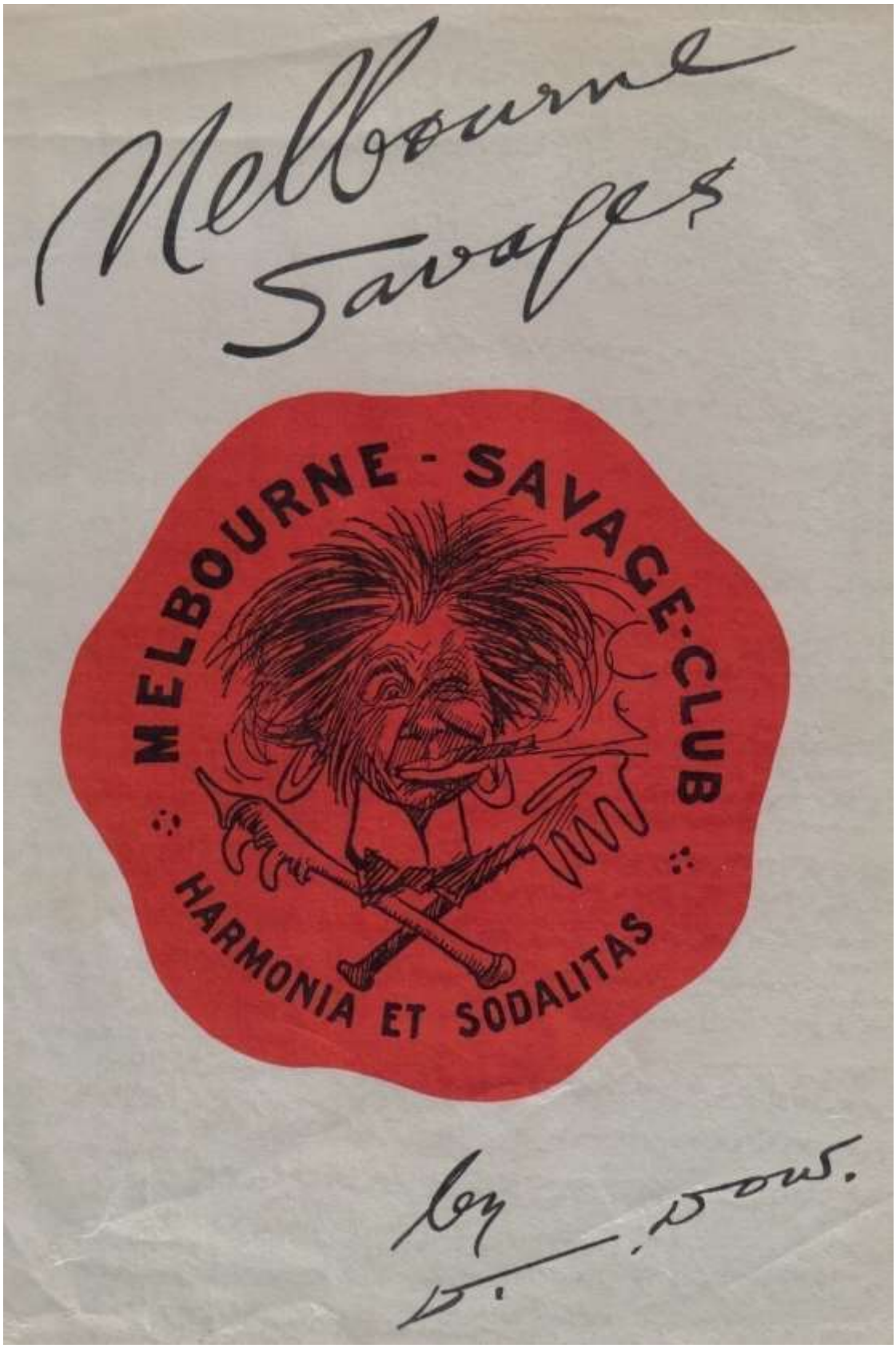

A Social-cultural reading: the Melbourne Savage Club through its collections.

A Social-cultural reading: the Melbourne Savage Club through its collections.

by

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Submitted in total fulfilment of the requirements
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DEAKIN UNIVERSITY

DEAKIN UNIVERSITY CANDIDATE DECLARATION

AND ACCESS TO THESIS

*I, **Graeme Henry Williams** certify that the thesis entitled* 'A Social-cultural reading: the Melbourne Savage Club through its collections.' *submitted for the degree of Master of Arts A800 is the result of my own work and that where reference is made to the work of others, due acknowledgment is given.*

I also certify that any material in the thesis which has been accepted for a degree or diploma by any other university or institution is identified in the text.

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ABSTRACT

A Social-cultural reading:
the Melbourne Savage Club through its collections.

This dissertation looks at how the collection(s) of a private club located in the Melbourne Central Business District have been shaped by the bohemian attitude of its founding members. The study focuses on the Melbourne Savage Club (MSC), a private men's club founded in 1894, and the Yorick Club (YC) founded in 1868. The two clubs merged in 1966.

Since the MSC's establishment, its collections have developed through a process shaped by prevailing attitudes to history and heritage. This study sets out to establish whether the contents of the club's collections and their display are distinctive and if they make a significant contribution to Australia's cultural heritage.

The study focuses on the development of the MSC's collections during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and examines these in the context of the prevailing social framework of the era, the bohemian influence in the Club's foundations, and the interaction within the Club of its artists with Melbourne society.

The research addresses the following core question:

What have been the contributing factors to the collection of the Melbourne Savage Club which make it distinctive and significant to Australian cultural heritage?

This research offers the opportunity to examine the relationships between history and heritage and thus to contribute to Australian scholarship by establishing a discourse between Australian history and heritage significance. This will lead to a greater understanding of the role of the Club in Australian history and its contribution to the construction of heritage values in an emerging nation.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAA	Australian Academy of Art
AAAn	Australian Art Association
ADPML	Alfred Deakin Prime Ministerial Library
AGNSW	Art Gallery of New South Wales
AGSA	Art Gallery of South Australia
AHD	Authorised Heritage Discourse
AIF	Australian Infantry Forces
B&W	Black and White
BCSF	Bohemian Club (San Francisco)
CAC	Chelsea Arts Club
CAG	Contemporary Art Group
CAS	Contemporary Art Society
CBD	Central Business District
CC	Constitutional Club
CEAM	Council for the Encouragement of Art and Music
HV	Heritage Victoria
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
MCA	Melbourne Contemporary Artists
MSO	Melbourne Symphony Orchestra
MSC	Melbourne Savage Club
NGA	National Gallery of Australia
NGV	National Gallery of Victoria
NLA	National Library of Australia
QVMAG	Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery, Launceston
SLV	State Library of Victoria
TMAG	Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery, Hobart
TMP	Twenty Melbourne Painters
UAP	United Australia Party
UNESCO	United Nations Economic Scientific and Cultural Organisation
VAS	Victorian Artists Society
VCA	Victorian College of the Arts
YC	Yorick Club

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I am eternally grateful to Deakin University for accepting my application as a research scholar and approving my abstract and research question relating to the study of the collections of the Melbourne Savage Club, an organisation of which I have a strong connection and a great fondness.

In my former position as Vice President of the Melbourne Savage Club and as Chairman of its Art Committee I have been actively involved with the artistic life of the Club for over a decade, providing me with an insight into the works and lives of the many artists whose works adorn its walls. The afore-mentioned positions have placed me in a unique position for a researcher in that I have been granted unfettered access to the Club's archives going back to the nineteenth century. I wish to acknowledge the President at the time, Mr Jerry Ellis, and the then General Committee for granting me this privilege.

There have been other academics, artist friends and Melbourne Savage Club members who have showed an interest and offered advice and feedback during my journey and I would also like to thank them all for their encouragement.

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INTRODUCTION

This research looks at the Melbourne Savage Club (MSC), a 'Gentleman's Club' located in Melbourne, Australia and one of only four surviving such Clubs within the Melbourne Central Business District out of the dozens which proliferated at the turn of the twentieth century[1]. The case study of the Club, investigates the reasons why it developed in the way it did with its distinctive interior and its extensive collection of fine art and artefacts and looks at influences and networks which contributed to its significance.

The Club itself, formed in 1894, was modelled on the ideals of the London Savage Club (LSC)[2], a club which confined its membership to professional artists, writers, musicians, actors and scientists. The MSC however, could ill afford to be so restrictive, and instead insisted that candidates be in the 'good fellows' category and have an appreciation of the arts consistent with the Club's objectives. The dissertation will argue that the bohemian aspirations of its founders and the above ideals of participation in or an appreciation of the arts by its members distinguish the MSC from other clubs in Melbourne in the era that this study is posited and that its interior and fine art and artefact collection is reflective of that association.

This research used both primary and secondary sources to build a picture of the circumstances of how works entered the MSC collection. Newspapers and journals of the day, such as *The Bulletin*, *Table Talk* and *Melbourne Punch*[3], have been read extensively along with exhibition catalogues and private correspondence between members themselves, throwing further light on these linkages and building up the rich description essential to place the Club's collection in context.

---

[1] The four surviving 'Gentlemen's Clubs' are the Athenaeum Club (1200 members), the Australian Club (1500 members), the Melbourne Club (1600 members) and the Melbourne Savage Club (550 members). In addition, there are two 'Ladies' Clubs', the Alexandra Club (1000 members) and the Lyceum Club (1400 members).

[2] Bradshaw, Percy V. 1957, *'Brother Savages and Guests' A history of the Savage Club 1857-1957*, first edn, W. H. Allen & Co, London. pp.16,17

[3] *Table Talk* (1885-1925) and *Melbourne Punch* (1921-1925) were both contemporary weekly newspapers circulating in Melbourne which focussed heavily on social and current events.

The Research Question

The research question*: '*What have been the contributing factors to the collection of the Melbourne Savage Club which make it distinctive and significant to Australian cultural heritage?' develops from the overarching argument that institutions invariably reflect society's attitudes prevailing at the time of their formation.

The genesis of the MSC collection dates from the early twentieth century and can be credited largely to the bohemian artists who dominated early membership of the Club. In this, the Club distinguishes itself from other clubs in Melbourne and Australia who, lacking artist members[4], have established collections for decoration and investment motives, featuring some of Australia's most fashionable artists[5]. It is posited that, by virtue of genre, the works within the 'Savage' collections differ, not only from these traditional clubs, but also from other 'artists' clubs' around the world and this difference will be elaborated further in the body of this thesis.

The study of the collections of the MSC looks at the period which commences in the mid nineteenth century with the formation of the YC and concludes in the mid twentieth century when the two Clubs were to amalgamate. By this time, the bulk of the collection had been assembled, and the Savage clubhouse was renovated to its current form.

Although the private clubs of Melbourne, and indeed clubs worldwide, invariably feature valuable collections of artworks, previous discourse on collecting has focussed on museums and other public institutions where scholars have ready access to material. Consequently there has been minimal academic inroad into this largely secret world. In the course of this dissertation it will be examined how an association with artists from the early days of the MSC, has impacted significantly on the development of its collection and shaped its direction. Artists were prominent in society and played a large part

[4] The Lyceum Club, a Club restricted to professional women, is an exception and their collection similarly reflects a membership containing practising artists.

[5] The valuable collection of the Australian Club (Sydney) features many of Australia's leading artists and is recorded in the following publication: Gavin Fry, *Australian Club Collection. A Private View* (Sydney: The Beagle Press 2010) 128 pages

in the early history of the Club. This thesis contributes to knowledge about Australian culture and social networks at the turn of the twentieth century and prevailing attitudes of the time and outlines how this led to the development of a collection which is both distinctive and significant.

The MSC presents a rare environment to visitors who walk through its doors for the first-time. In part, this is the outcome of a building refurbishment carried out in the 1920s under the guidance of eminent Melbourne architect, Kingsley Anketell Henderson CMG, who converted what was, until then, a boutique Victorian office premises and townhouse into inimitable Clubrooms. The other feature of the MSC which distinguishes it is its extensive art and artefact collection displayed throughout the four levels of the premises, and comprising over one thousand Melanesian and New Guinea artefacts and nearly five hundred paintings, drawings and sculptures.

The MSC is not a museum, but is a living social organisation which, over its past, has acquired a remarkable collection of fine art and rare artefacts. This dissertation will not attempt a *catalogue raisoneé* of the collection but direct its focus instead on factors contributing to its development; namely by accumulation via gift rather than by deliberately acquiring as a process. The thesis will argue how this process has led to the distinctive features of the MSC and its collection.

Although there have been two histories written on the MSC, (the first in 1947[6] and the most recent on the advent of its centenary in 1994[7]), an Honours thesis on the formation of the YC in 1986[8] and a small history on the early years of the YC in 1910[9], these have touched fleetingly on its artist membership and the

[6] Dow, DM 1947, *Melbourne Savages, A History of the first fifty years of the Melbourne Savage Club*, Melbourne Savage Club, Melbourne.

[7] Johnson, J & Melbourne Savage Club. 1994, *Laughter and the love of friends : a centenary history of the Melbourne Savage Club 1894-1994 and a history of the Yorick Club 1868-1966*, Melbourne Savage Club, Melbourne.

[8] A.W.D. Huntley, '*The Formation of the Yorick Club*.', B.A. (Hons) (University of Melbourne., 1986).

[9] George Bell, *The Yorick Club - Its Origin and Development: May 1868 to December 1910* (Melbourne: Atlas Press, 1911) 35.

contents of the MSC's collection. Currently, there is a dearth of scholarly discourse on private clubs on which to posit this thesis, particularly in relation to the contribution of clubs in the field of art. This is deserving of assessment.

In this dissertation the relationship of the MSC with both the performing and the visual arts is examined. It looks into the artists and arts administrators who have either been members of the MSC, or associated with it in some way, to support the argument as to its influence.

Structure and Chapter Contents

Chapter I *The Literature Review*

The first chapter refocuses on the research question and the value of a discourse between history and the construction of heritage values as a means of assessment of the importance of the collections being researched. It reviews the literature identified as key to establishing a firm foundation for this discussion, and talks through the prevailing attitudes shaping society at the time of the establishment of the collections at the turn of the nineteenth century. Whilst this will be expanded upon in subsequent chapters, it is considered important here to review the literature relating to some of the earlier research into some of these issues at this point; particularly the concept of single-sex clubs and the related issues that invariably surface such as exclusivity, gender and networking.

The chapter concludes with a review of collection theory and research and examines the discourse on significance and heritage with reference to the fundamental differences which distinguish the MSC collection.

Chapter II *Research Design*

The second chapter discusses the methodology adopted for the purpose of establishing significance and distinctiveness utilising internationally accepted assessment models and criteria, namely *Significance 2.0*[10], *The Burra Charter*[11] and *The New Zealand Charter 2010*[12].

[10] 2009, *Significance 2.0 : a guide to assessing the significance of collections*, by Russell, R, Winkworth, K & Collections Council of Australia., 2nd edn, Collections Council of Australia.

It identifies the collection sub-sets that have emerged and reviews some quantitative analysis which set the agenda for the structure of the study and concludes with a discourse on the assessment of the collection as a whole.

Chapter III *The formation of the Melbourne Savage Club – 1868 to 1900*

Chapter III outlines the growth of Clubs in Great Britain and their emigration to the Australian colonies and the rest of the British Empire. It also examines the emergence of the bohemian movement in Australia in the mid nineteenth century and the need of the bohemians to establish their own groups distinct from the conservative clubs that had already emerged in Australia by this time.[13] This was manifested first in the YC, followed by the artist camps, the sketch clubs of the 1870s and 1890s and finally by the MSC in the mid-1890s.

Chapter IV *The early years of the Club – 1900 to 1923*

This chapter looks at the evolution of the MSC and its early artist membership, primarily, the 'Australian Impressionists' and 'Black and White artists' who joined at this time. It examines how much the Club has modelled itself on its adopted parent, the London Savage Club, and how it encouraged strong membership from within Melbourne's emerging arts community. The early section of this chapter particularly focuses on the activities of the Black and White artists[14] who contributed so much to the spirit of the Club in the early years and demonstrate the importance of the major social record that they left behind.

Leading on from this, the research looks at the Great War and examines how this has impacted on the Club and its artistic membership. A number of the

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[11] Australia ICOMOS. 1999, *The Burra Charter: The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance 1999*, 1997 rev. edn, Australia ICOMOS, Kingston, ACT.

[12] ICOMOS New Zealand, *ICOMOS New Zealand Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Heritage Value (ICOMOS New Zealand Charter 2010)*, in ICOMOS New Zealand (ed.), Auckland, 2010, at 11.

[13] The first Club to be founded in Melbourne was the Melbourne Club in 1838. This largely catered for the wealthy squatters and professional elite.

[14] The medium of satirical Black and White is a genre in which the Club's collection is particularly strong.

Club's artist members moved to London and Europe in the early twentieth century, became actively involved with artist clubs in London[15] before and during the war, studied in London and Paris, and finally returned home bringing back current ideas and theories to Melbourne. The first few decades of the MSC's life were a period of high representation of artists within its membership. Artist members were prominent in the Club's activities and fermented discussions based on their overseas experiences.

Chapter V *A Permanent Home and the evolvement of a collection – 1923 to 1937*

Chapter V looks at the MSC in peacetime, its move into its permanent home in Bank Place, Melbourne and how the refurbishment and decoration of the Clubhouse created the impetus for the development of the collection and the distinct culture which evolved.

The chapter examines the impact that Savage artists had in Melbourne and interstate, not only as artists, but as educators through art schools, as critics in the press, and as directors of state galleries. Concurrently Savages held positions as directors at the Art Gallery of South Australia (AGSA), the Art Gallery of New South Wales (AGNSW), and the National Gallery of Victoria (NGV), each of whom had an impact on the emerging national art establishment. These networks, and the coming together of artists and their patrons within the walls of the Club, contributed to the growing significance of the Club in the arts.

During this period MSC artists achieved prominence in landscape and portraiture, two other genres which feature heavily in its collection. Savage Club artists dominated in the early years of the AGNSW' coveted Archibald Prize, with three MSC artists alone sharing twenty Prizes between them in the early years of the prize. Other Club artist members achieved equal success in the Wynne and Couch Prizes for Landscape, an illustration of the strength of the visual arts within the Savage membership at the time.

[15] Cross, T 1992, *ARTISTS and BOHEMIANS. 100 Years with the Chelsea Arts Club*, First edn, Quiller Press, London.

Chapter VI *The Australian Academy of Art and other influences – 1937 to 1950*

The influence of the then Federal Attorney General Robert Menzies and his initiative for an Australian Academy of Art (AAA), involving at its nucleus prominent Savage artists, is examined in this chapter. It shows how active involvement in these organisations precipitated rifts within the MSC and divisions emerged within the artist membership. It looks at how opposition to these plans was spearheaded by a former artist member of the MSC, George Bell, with his formation of the Contemporary Art Society (CAS) committed to a 'modern' approach to art, and how other MSC artists, such as Arnold Shore and Sir Arthur Streeton, were to be caught up in this schism.

Despite this, artist membership of the MSC continued to remain strong up to and through the Second World War[16]. At the same time many of these Club artists continued to be active in outside art associations and societies such as the Victorian Artists Society (VAS), The T-Square Club, the Australian Art Association (AAAn), the Thursday Club, and Twenty Melbourne Painters (TMP).

This dissertation considers the works of (outside) artists entering the Club's collection at this time through their membership of some of the afore-mentioned organisations. It explores their involvement with the Club and their 'brothers of the brush[17]' within the artistic membership, and postulates the circumstances which led to their works being acquired.

Chapter VII *Merger with the Yorick – 1950 to 1968*

The merger of the MSC with the bohemian YC[18] occurred in 1966, fusing together two Clubs with an involvement with the arts; the YC with its literary focus, but also containing artists within its membership, and the MSC with its history in the visual and performing arts. With a combined and increased

[16] The majority of Australia's official World War I official war artists were members at some stage of the MSC

[17] 'Brothers of the brush' is a term used by artists when talking about their colleagues and was common in both Australia and the United Kingdom in the early twentieth century. It is still in use today.

[18] Bell, G 1911, *The Yorick Club - its Origin and Development: May 1868 to December 1910*, Atlas Press, Melbourne.

membership, initiatives were taken during this time in an attempt to remain connected with the literary and artistic ideals which were such a major part of both Clubs' histories.

The merger with the YC also bought some very fine paintings into the MSC and the chapter discusses their significance.

Summing up and Conclusion

The Conclusion develops an argument in support of the contribution of the total collection as a distinctive manifestation of the 'ideals of the Melbourne Savage Club'[19] and shows how the construction of heritage values has occurred in this context and how a private collection can have broader cultural heritage significance for Australia. It postulates the reasons for the distinctive nature of the collections of the MSC and puts a case that it is a direct result of how the MSC has operated, both in the past and in the present, in particular in relation to its engagement with practising artists, both professional and amateur.

It concludes by suggesting reasons why the Club has had such a prominent role in Melbourne's and Australia's visual arts history and argues that the significance of the MSC and its collections to Australian cultural heritage is both tangible and intangible. The overwhelming conclusion however is that the MSC has an inherent sense of 'place' and that this intangible element confers an overriding linkage to the collections and strengthens their significance.

[19] As recorded in Heritage Victoria's citation H0025 for the Club's built interior.

CHAPTER I THE LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

Research into the MSC begins by exploring its genealogy in the form of its model, the London Savage Club (LSC), and then re-tracing back to the mid-nineteenth century when the YC was formed as Melbourne's first 'bohemian' club[20]. Not only did the YC ultimately merge with the MSC, and in the process create an amalgamation of both their members and their fine art collections, but also the YC was the first of Melbourne's clubs with a strong foundation in the arts taking inspiration from the LSC and its charter embracing the arts. As will be enunciated later, the ideals of both clubs' founders had a lot of synergy and this was important in developing a culture within both which remains strong today, standing aside from the cultures of other Melbourne clubs. (Although there are parallels both overseas and interstate.)

The artists who were amongst the first to join the MSC were no strangers to each other or to the other members, many of whom were patrons and mixed in the same circles. Most had initially met as art students, participants in 'artist camps', and as members of artist societies and groups, where they were not only active participants but had forged strong bonds of friendship. Some of the artists' sketch clubs in particular, which formed as predecessors of the Savage, were more than merely groupings of artists, musicians and literary men getting together for cultural activities, but were genuine, albeit small clubs, boasting their own constitutions and rules. The same as their counterparts in London and other colonies, which were established with similar ideals, they enshrined the concept of bohemianism and regarded themselves apart from the more conventional expectations and responsibilities of Victorian society.

This thesis looks at society at the time of the study and explores the links and networks that existed. By the time the MSC was founded in 1894, most of these small boutique clubs had floundered. There was also an element of

[20] The Yorick Club was preceded by the Melbourne Garrick Club, established in 1855, which had as its charter 'the cultivation of dramatic literature and art'. The Garrick wound up in 1870, by which time the Yorick was going strong.

divisiveness within the art societies and the Gallery School, as exemplified by the temporary move of the professional artists away from the Victorian Academy of Arts (VAA)[21]. The arrival of the MSC, modelled on the LSC, with its support and encouragement of the arts enshrined in its statement of purpose, was timely and it was not long before Melbourne's close-knit male visual artists were to join it en-masse. This brought them together with others involved in the arts and, more particularly, gave them ready access to a network of their patrons.

The Literature Review

A number of key themes have been identified which appear to have shaped the formation and development of the collections and contributed to their significance. In this literature review, each will be addressed in turn:

1. *Social history in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, including issues and attitudes prevalent at the time of the club's formation in the late nineteenth century, such as:*
   - *Exclusivity and single gender*
   - *The nature of clubs*
   - *Bohemianism*
2. *The concept of cultural significance in Australian cultural heritage and appropriate criteria for assessment of the collections.*

Through conducting a discourse between Australian history and the construction of heritage values whilst researching this collection, the thesis will attempt to contribute to a greater understanding of the relationship and often tension between the two.

As David Lowenthal illustrates in a number of his publications, whilst they are inextricably linked, there is an important distinction in that: 'History explores

[21] In late 1886 a group of professional artists led by Frederick McCubbin, Tom Roberts, John Ford Paterson, John Mather, Charles Conder and others voted to break away from the Victorian Academy of Arts (VAA) to form the Australian Artists' Association. The two groups later reunited in early 1887 to form the Victorian Artists' Society (VAS). William Moore, *The Story of Australian Art from the Earliest Known Art of the Continent to the Art of Today* (Melb: Ang. & Rob., 1934) Vol 1. [9], 246 pp at 159.

and explains pasts grown ever more opaque over time; heritage clarifies pasts so as to infuse them with current purpose.'[22]

Although both history and heritage are guilty of bias and, through memory, are 'distorted by selective perception, intervening circumstances and hindsight'[23] the culture of a Club like the MSC particularises meaning because cultural symbols are endlessly reshaped in everyday social encounters.

The MSC is a single-sex Club[24] and issues like gender which this raises are not value-free. In reality, they often reveal more about present-day attitudes than what people in the past thought or did:

> For the historian, truth is wrapped up with trying to figure out what went on in time past. The records are left by people who lived in the past, but – and this is the tricky part – the records are extent in the present. The past, insofar as it exists at all, exists in the present; the historian too is stuck in time present, trying to make accurate and meaningful statements about time past. Any account of historical objectivity must provide for this crucial temporal dimension.[25]

These material remains of the past affect the researcher in his endeavour to reconstruct and interpret them.

- ***Colonial and early twentieth century society***

To place any analysis in context, and to properly understand the many influences coming to bear, there is a need to extend research to the structure of Melbourne and Australian society existing at the time of the formation of the YC and MSC and the period in the early half of the twentieth century.

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[22] Lowenthal, D 1998, *The Heritage Crusade and the spoils of history*, 1st pbk. edn, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, U.K. ; New York. p. xv

[23] Lowenthal, D 1985, *The past is a foreign country*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge [Cambridgeshire] ; New York. p. xxii

[24] Clubs were not the only organisations which excluded or discriminated against women in the late nineteenth century. Both the Gallery School and the VAS had many women students or members, yet regular events, such as 'Smoke Nights,' typically excluded women.

[25] Appleby, JO, Hunt, LA & Jacob, MC 1994, *Telling the Truth about History*, Norton, New York. p. 253

In 1868, when the YC was formed, Melbourne had just emerged from the Gold Rush and had grown very rapidly though massive immigration of gold-seekers from all parts of the globe, including China. Scholars such as Paul de Serville,[26] with his thesis on the composition of society in colonial Melbourne, and Nadel[27], combine to illustrate how the gentlemen colonists of nineteenth century Victoria sought to create for themselves a society modelled, as far as antipodean conditions would allow, upon the English society that they had left behind.

'Good society' characterised social life in Melbourne where 'rank was largely determined by the colonists themselves rather than by the Crown as the fount of honour'[28]. Whilst at the time of foundation of the YC, the Colony of Victoria already boasted the elite Melbourne Club[29] and a score of lesser clubs organised around professions, interests and sports, there was no club specifically for journalists, litterateurs or visual artists in general. As such, 'men with the right background, education, property or connections, had to make do with these more conservative organisations'[30] until Marcus Clarke established the YC. In a highly colourful account of the social world in Melbourne at the time, Marcus Clarke as "*the Peripatetic Philosopher*", took his middle class readers of the day on a tour of the seamier side of Melbourne through his regular column in *The Argus* and its weekly companion *The*

[26] de Serville, Paul Huége 1976, 'Gentlemen Colonists and Good Society in Port Phillip before 1850 ', by research thesis, Master of Arts thesis, Melbourne University Press; de Serville, Paul 1991, *Pounds and pedigrees: the upper class in Victoria, 1850-80*, Oxford University Press, South Melbourne.

[27] Nadel, George 1957, *Australia's Colonial Culture: Ideas, Men and Institutions in Mid-Nineteenth Century Eastern Australia*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.

[28] de Serville, 1976 *op cit* p.47

[29] The Melbourne Club was founded in 1838, the Athenaeum in 1868 and the Australia Club was founded in 1878.

[30] Moore, Tony 2007, '*Australia's Bohemian Tradition*', PhD thesis, University of Sydney.

Australasian and later in *The Age* or *The Leader* or one of Melbourne's short-lived monthlies.[31]

Nearly half a century later, at the time of the formation of the MSC in 1894, the City of Melbourne, despite an economic downturn, had just hosted two international expositions in their Exhibition Building, a product of the optimism, enthusiasm and energy of the late nineteenth century. Melbourne was a prosperous city, basking in the wealth from the richest gold rush in the world. *Collins: the story of Australia's premier street*[32], together with contemporary Melbourne newspapers in circulation time, such as the *Argus, Australasian, Table Talk* and *Melbourne Punch,* provide a detailed account of life in Australia's then largest city. George Augustus Sala, the London journalist and a founding member of the LSC, dubbed Melbourne 'Marvellous Melbourne', when he wrote in the *Argus*: 'It was on the 17th of March, in the present year of Grace, 1885, that I made my first entrance, shortly before high noon, into Marvellous Melbourne.'[33] He claimed that the whole city 'teems with wealth, even as it does with humanity'. In *Town life in Australia*, Richard Twopeny observed:

> There is a bustle and life about Melbourne which you altogether miss in Sydney ..... If you are a man of leisure you will find more "society" in Melbourne, more balls and parties, a larger measure of intellectual life. .....all public amusements are far better attended in Melbourne; the people dress better, talk better, are better.'[34]

Both Sala and Twopeny give detailed accounts of all aspects of Melbourne society in the 1880s, and a popular novel set in the times, *The Mystery of a*

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[31] Clarke, Marcus 1867-70, *'The peripatetic philosopher* ', *The Australasian*, pp. xi, 108 p. , 19 cm.; McClaren, John ,2008, 'Bohemians', p. 8.

[32] Buckrich, Judith R, Dunstan, Keith & Storey, Rohan 2005, *Collins: the story of Australia's premier street*, Australian Scholarly Publishing, Melbourne.

[33] Sala, George Augustus 1885, 'Marvellous Melbourne', *The Argus* 8 August 1885 p.4; Sala, GA & Dingley, R 1995, *The land of the Golden Fleece: George Augustus Sala in Australia and New Zealand in 1885*, Australian books on demand, Mulini Press, Canberra, A.C.T. p.58.

[34] Twopeny, Richard Ernest Nowell, *Town life in Australia*, Elliot Stock, London. 1883 p.3

Hansom Cab[35], also provides a valuable insight into the world of the bohemian as it traverses both polite society with its soirées and the world of gentlemen's clubs (the Melbourne Club) as well as 'Lower Bohemia', all of which were familiar territory to the founders of the MSC.

Another publication which gave a popular account of the times was the Sydney-based *Bulletin* and Docker's[36] various writings on the 1890s refer extensively to this paper which did so much to shape an Australian viewpoint on many national issues. Norman Lindsay in *Bohemians of the Bulletin*[37] also describes how the bohemian contributors to *The Bulletin* – poets, writers, journalists – projected the values most dear to them, male camaraderie and bachelordom, onto the working men of the Bush, equating the Bushman's nomadic freedom and mateship with their inner-urban camaraderie and marginalisation of women.[38]

Prasad, in speaking of colonialism, referred to colonialist binaries, where the superior pole belonging to the West (coloniser) and the other related to the colonised (non-West), with the discourse claiming that its moral purpose was the civilisation of the 'dark' and 'savage' races.[39] Little wonder that, at the turn of the twentieth century, when the MSC was founded, the use of a double

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[35] Hume, FW 1893, *The Mystery of a Hansom Cab*, 1982 edition (November 1982) edn, Dover Publications, Inc, Melbourne. *The Mystery of a Hansom Cab* has recently been adopted into a film.

[36] Docker, John 1974, *Australian Cultural Elites: intellectual traditions in Sydney and Melbourne*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney; Docker, J 1991, *The Nervous Nineties: Australian cultural life in the 1890s*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne; Docker, J & Sir Robert Menzies Centre for Australian Studies. 1992, *Dilemmas of identity: the desire for the other in colonial and post colonial cultural history*, Working papers in Australian studies, Sir Robert Menzies Centre for Australian Studies, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London, [London].

[37] Lindsay, N 1965, *Bohemians at the Bulletin*, 1973 edn, Angus & Robertson, London ; Sydney.

[38] For this reason, the *Bulletin* was commonly referred to as *The Bushmen's Bible*. Palmer, Vance 1954, *The legend of the nineties*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne. Pp. 88-108

[39] Albert J. Mills and Iiris Aaltio-Marjosola (eds.), *Gender, Identity and the Culture of Organizations* (Management, Organizations and Society., London: Routledge, 2002) xii, 226 p. at 62.

entendre by these Club artists played on the 'savage' in the Club name, synonymous with primitive and uncivilised.

In illustrating the views of these publications however, the cartoonists and writers were not merely echoing the fears of the workers and seamen, threatened by competition from imported, often coloured, labour but also intellectuals of the day such as Charles Pearson, the former director of Education in Victoria. In his 1893 book, *National life and character: a forecast*, Pearson speaks of patriotism as 'that kind of feeling that binds together people who are of the same race' and encourages the true patriot 'to discard every foreign element as dangerous'.[40] Pearson saw 'Australia and England united in a manner that gratifies sentiment and interest, and entails no particular obligation on either part to the union. The Australian colonies are protected to some extent by the prestige of imperial power, and attract English capital rather more freely than they would do if independent.'[41] The future for Australia, as he saw it, was to hold strongly to a transported English lifestyle and he maintained that Australia, as a continent, had been left 'for the first civilised people that found it to take and occupy it.' He goes on to say that 'the natives have died out as we approached',[42] thereby rewriting Australia's short (European) history in the process.

- ***Masculinity and Gender***

This thesis looks at the culture of the MSC as a 'mini-society' and its gendered identity as a 'men's Club' is indeed a contributor to its values at the time the collection was developed. Mills and Aalito see the lens of organisational culture as a useful way of studying gender at work and support the above contention when they maintain that 'gender is a cultural phenomenon whereby culturally specific patterns of behaviour come to be associated with the

[40] Dr Charles H. Pearson, *National Life and Character: A Forecast* (London: Macmillan, 1893) 357 p. at 187. p. 187

[41] *ibid* at 223

[42] *ibid* at 16

biological differences between 'males' and 'females'',[43] with gender the cultural knowledge which differentiates them. Although Mills and Aalito are making this observation in relation to business and academic organisations, it is probably even more pertinent in a single sex organisation, such as the MSC, to explore the gendered nature of its culture as a 'taken-for-granted' men's organisation characterised by men's preference for men's company and men's spaces.

Accordingly, the issues of masculinity and gender must be explored due to the MSC's charter as a single sex club to see to what extent the resultant organisational culture impacts on the formation of the collection. Writing in *Masculinities in Organisations*[44], Addelston and Strutt's chapter on *The Last Bastion of Masculinity Gender Politics at the Citadel*[45] looks at the exclusion of women in an organisation through an assertion of male entitlement and privilege, and *Masculine Domination* refers to the bars and clubs of the Anglo-American world as places 'intended primarily for men'[46], a point also taken up by Virginia Woolf when she speaks of men enjoying 'the dubious pleasures of power and domination while 'his' women are locked in the private houses without sharing in the many societies of which his society is composed.'[47]

In an antipodean context, Docker highlights how, whilst the chauvinist bohemian poets and journalists of *The Bulletin* on one hand tried to maintain hierarchies of race and gender in Australian society, there were still complexities in its largely masculinist agenda as it protested against the

[43] Mills and Aaltio-Marjosola (eds.), *Gender, Identity and the Culture of Organizations* at 12.

[44] Cheng, C (ed.) 1996, *Masculinities in Organisations*, Research on Men and Masculinities Series, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, Ca. pp. 54-75

[45] Judi Addelston and Michael Strutt, '*The Last Bastion of Masculinity: Gender Politics at the Citadel*', in Cliff Chen (ed.), *Masculinities in Organisations* (Thousand Oaks, Ca.: Sage Publications, 1996), 54-75.

[46] Bourdieu, P 2001, *Masculine domination*, Polity Press, Cambridge, UK. p. 57

[47] Woolf, V 1966, *Three Guineas*, Harcourt Brace & Company, San Diego. p. 121

wholesale murder of aborigines in North Queensland and later came to support female suffrage. [48]

Whilst this was happening, *The Dawn,* a major Sydney-based woman's and feminist journal of the period, edited by Louisa Lawson, achieved international recognition for the work of the feminist movement in Australia.[49] There were sharp differences between *The Bulletin* and the Nineties feminism and they certainly were highlighted by the editorial thrust of the two publications. Whereas *The Bulletin* considered men superior in evolution because of their possession of rationality, *The Dawn* assumed women's rationality and considered men inferior in evolution because of their lack of purity.[50]

Jose in *The Romantic Nineties*, when speaking of Melbourne, describes how 'the romance of the nineties was singularly devoid of feminine interest'[51] and Astbury makes the same point when he notes how 'the depression accentuated the precariousness of the artist's existence, and the warmth of male bohemia thus acted as a buffer against financial hardship and an apparent philistine society'. He remarks how the conventional burdens of marriage and family were frowned upon by the bohemians, who saw them as representative of the deadening, conservative weight of society, entailing responsibilities and values that stifled their creative freedom and artistic independence.'[52] Marriage was also anathema to the bohemian creed of 'wine, women and song' notwithstanding that, although many artists and writers were to eventually marry, they often strove to retain cherished beliefs about the necessary 'masculinity' of the artistic identity by arbitrarily dividing their lives between the bohemianism of the city and its all male clubs and cafe society and the suburban homes that they returned to at night[53].

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[48] Docker, 1991 *op cit* p. 28. Victoria only allowed the female vote in 1908.

[49] *ibid* pp. 3-25 'An interview with Mrs. Lawson' appeared in the *Boston Women's Journal* on 1 May 19895, pp. 14-15

[50] *ibid* p. 52

[51] Jose, Arthur W. 1933, *The Romantic Nineties*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney. p. 34

[52] Astbury. *op cit* p.155

[53] It was not until 1912 that Melbourne women academics and artists were to form their own women-only club, the Lyceum Club.

Tiger, in *Men in Groups*, maintains that a selection process involved in candidates obtaining membership of these 'male-bonding' groups is analogous to mate selection in the reproductive sphere and that 'such grouping exhibits the culturally learned and socially mediated manifestation of a broad biological feature of the male life cycle.'[54] This dissertation will introduce the role of the MSC as a venue and meeting place for men, providing a valuable social network. Following on from Ryles'[55] argument, the distinctive atmosphere (and collections) of the MSC may not only be in response to the need identified by Ryles for this single-sex environment but also may have been a major motivating factor in its membership.

- ***Bohemianism***

The lifestyle of the bohemians of Paris played a role in the development of the culture of the MSC and YC. Bohemianism made its way to Melbourne from Paris through popular novels of the day which romanticised the lifestyle of young Latin Quarter artists. Having visited the Latin Quarter of Paris and taking inspiration from Murger's 1851 novel, *Latin Quarter Scénès de la Vie de Bohème,*[56] YC founder, Marcus Clarke, was keen on establishing a bohemian club in Melbourne. The concept of *bohemians,* as embraced by Clarke, has been the subject of many writers, both contemporaneous and contemporary, and is well documented in a number of publications, either analysing Murger's novel or otherwise describing the movement which morphed out of it.[57]

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[54] Tiger, L 1984, *Men in Groups*, 2nd edn, M. Boyars : Distributed by Scribner, New York. pp. 126-55

[55] Ryles, Simon 2011, '*Liquid Modernity*', Masters thesis, Master of Psychology (Clinical Psychology) thesis, Victoria University of Technology.

[56] Murger, Henri & Hugus, EW 1978, *Latin Quarter Scénès de la Vie de Bohème*, The Hyperion library of world literature., Hyperion Press, Westport, Conn.

[57] References on the bohemians in Paris are extensive and include: Baldick, R 1961, *The First Bohemian. The Life of Henri Murger* Hamish Hamilton, London.; Balzac, Hd 1812, *The civil service ; Gaudissart II ; A prince of Bohemia*, G. Barrie's Sons, Philadelphia.; Brown, MR 1985, *Gypsies and other Bohemians. The myth of the artist in nineteenth-century France*, Studies in the Fine Arts: The Avant-Garde, No. 51, UMI Research Press, Ann Arbour, Michigan.; Richardson, J 1969, *The Bohemians: la vie de Bohème in Paris, 1830-1914*, Macmillan, London,. and Seigel, JE 1986, *Bohemian*

The MSC was similarly founded with bohemian aspirations and, whereas Murger's book had provided an inspiration for the founders of the YC, so did *Trilby,*[58] published in English in 1894 and one of the most popular novels of its time, similarly provide inspiration for a later generation of Melbourne artists and other bohemians. Again set in an idyllic bohemian Paris in the 1850s, and featuring the stories of two English artists and a Scottish artist, (one of whom is based on James McNeill Whistler), Du Maurier's bohemian Paris is as much an invention as a reality, and as much a projection of the 1890s as a recollection of the 1850s, suggesting that bohemianism was alive and well at the time of formation of both clubs.

The French bohemian movement, which was the inspiration for both clubs, has been well documented by writers.[59] In Australia, the nineteenth and early twentieth century accounts of Melbourne by Clarke, Lindsay, McCrae and Bedford, similarly provide a firsthand insight into the local bohemian movement and the development of their informal sketch and supper 'clubs'. The value of these memoirs and recollections for the historian is not as accurate records of what happened or as self-reflexive attempts at analysing bohemianism, but for what they reveal about the romantic myth of the artist and aspects of a bohemian life the respective authors wished to be remembered. They chronicle how Melbourne's literary and artistic talent formed single-sex

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Paris : culture, politics, and the boundaries of bourgeois life, 1830-1930 Viking, New York, N.Y.

[58] Du Maurier, G 1894, *Trilby*, Abbey classics, London Murrays Abbey Classics, [19--]. Trilby was one of the most popular novels of its time and was also adopted for the stage.

[59] Clarke, Marcus & Hergenhan, LT 1972, *A colonial city, high and low life: selected journalism of Marcus Clarke*, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, Qld., Lindsay, Norman 1913, *A curate in Bohemia*, 1981 edn, Angus & Robertson, Sydney., Bedford, Randolph 1944, *Naught to thirty-three*, 1976 edn, The Currawong publishing company, Sydney,. McCann, AL 2004, *Marcus Clarke's Bohemia: Literature and Modernity in Colonial Melbourne*, Melbourne University Publishing, Carlton, Vic.,McCrae, Hugh 1948, *Story-book only My father, and my father's friends*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney., Kershaw, A, 1921-1995 1991, *HeyDays: memories and glimpses of Melbourne's Bohemia 1937-1947*, Angus & Robertson, North Ryde, N.S.W., and Kirkpatrick, PJ 1992a, *The sea coast of Bohemia: literary life in Sydney's roaring twenties*, UQP nonfiction., University of Queensland Press;

associations where they could socialise aside from the remainder of society with such exotic names as the Buonarotti Club, the Ishmael Club and the Prehistoric Order of Cannibals. This dissertation looks at these early bohemian clubs and groupings whose members felt the need to develop their own alternative lifestyle and whose members ultimately went on to join the MSC and the YC.

Two recent theses on bohemianism by Moore[60] and Mead[61] are of particular relevance as they both include a section on the establishment of the bohemian YC in 1868, whilst Mead's study of Melbourne artist clubs indicates a prominent role of (later) Savage artists within their membership and assists in showing how the character of the MSC evolved as a club with a strong engagement with the arts. Moore also identifies this link with the earlier artists' Clubs as predecessors to the MSC in his recent book on Australian bohemianism, *Dancing with Empty Pockets*.[62]

Both Mead and Moore go into some detail on the bohemian culture in Australia, particularly in Melbourne and Sydney, and Moore uses a materialist analysis of cultural production to locate bohemian artists within the capitalist economy.[63] Moore questions however the notion of the professedly bohemian clubs such as the YC and MSC as bastions of non-conformism and, in this regard, Astbury shares this cynicism. As they point out, whilst admittedly they provided a regular meeting place for the Melbourne's bohemians and a structure to eat, drink, converse, and perform for each other, Moore, in particular, regarded them as 'ambiguous spaces, private and public, productive and recreational, where entertainment and creative work merged. In their parody of gentlemen's clubs the Yorick and its successors brought a sense of the carnivalesque into

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[60] Moore, 2007, *op cit*

[61] Mead, Stephen 2009, '*Bohemia in Melbourne: an Investigation of the writer Marcus Clarke and four artistic clubs during the late 1860s – 1901.* ', PhD thesis, University of Melbourne.

[62] Tony Moore, *Dancing with Empty Pockets. Australia's Bohemians.* (Sydney: Pier 9 (Murdoch Books), 2102) 378 at 61-66.

[63] These same artists, as creators of the cultural commodities, later created the genesis of the collections of the MSC.

colonial society marked by the elitism and obsession with membership criteria of the English and colonial clubs which it parodied.'[64] Both Moore and Astbury observe that bohemianism, as practised by the artists of Melbourne, was pragmatic and they were quick to both form and join clubs and societies and then open their bohemian circle up to more affluent members of society who were seen as potential supporters of their works. The doctors, lawyers, professors and other patrons who belonged to the YC and MSC were a great attraction to Melbourne's bohemian community who joined en-masse as soon as joining fees were waived.

Seigel had something to say on the bourgeois character of the young bohemians and broadened the category of artists 'extending it to include all those whose belief in the special quality of their imaginative and emotional life set them aside from others'[65]. In other words 'young bourgoise who imagined themselves as leading a life unimpeded by ordinary social obligations.'[66]

- ***Issues of elitism, single-sex, networking and exclusive clubs***

The formation of clubs was not just a feature of colonial culture but of the wider culture of Britain and the British world. Gentlemen's clubs thrived in nineteenth century Britain[67], where the rising men of the bourgeoisie congregated for business and social exchange. The same practice spread to the colonies where clubs of wealthy and influential men were established for similar reasons.[68]

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[64] Moore, 2007, *op cit* p. 101,102 and Leigh Astbury, '*Cash Buyers Welcome: Australian Artists and Bohemianism in the 1890s*', *Journal of Australian Studies,* 11/20 (1987/05/01 1987), 23-37 at 23-37.

[65] Jerrold E. Seigel, '*Art as Life: Bohemia*', *Modernity and Bourgeois Life: Society, Politics, and Culture in England, France and Germany since 1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 640, pp. 487-97 at 488.

[66] *ibid* at 490

[67] At the turn of the twentieth century, London boasted approximately two hundred gentlemen's clubs, half of which had been formed in the previous twenty years. It was not uncommon for these to have waiting lists of up to twenty years.

[68] Simultaneously, Mechanics Institutes were established throughout Australia for the adult working class, the most famous local example of which is the 'Melbourne Athenaeum', established in Collins Street in 1873 and which still continues as a private lending library.

Sources of reference on private clubs are limited and generally are the histories written by the various clubs by or for their members. These understandably focus on the identities that developed the clubs rather than on the clubhouse interior or the collections assembled by the members. However two recent studies in the United States by Holzaepfel and Koppelman have partially addressed the culture of clubs, particularly Holzaepfel's detailed look at six Gentlemen's clubs on the West Coast of Canada and the Eastern Seaboard of the United States which traces them back to their origins in the London Clubs.[69] Invariably, the definition of a Club by Dr Johnson as 'an assembly of fellows, meeting under certain conditions'[70] is feature of these references.

There are few references on the development of clubs per se however both De Jeune[71] and Timbs[72] survey the growth of the English club since the coffee houses of the sixteenth century and chart their evolvement to the clubs which exist today and Black[73] brings this up to date in her recent study of Victorian Clubland.

Fortunately, many histories of individual clubs exist, often recording their centenary or other similar milestone. Excellent histories exist, for example, of the MSC, the YC, all of Melbourne's city clubs and the histories of arts or bohemian clubs in Australasia, the UK and North America. The combined histories of these clubs serve to track their evolution from the mid nineteenth century through to the late twentieth century and provide valuable contextual

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[69] Todd David Holzaepfel, '*British Influences on the American and Canadian West: Capital, Cattle, and Clubs, 1870-1910*', (The University of Texas, 2009). and Constance Eleanore Koppelman, '*Nature in Art and Culture: The Tile Club Artists, 1870-1900*', PhD (State University of New York, 1985).

[70] Cited by Timbs in: John Timbs, *Clubs and Club Life in London: With Anecdotes of Its Famous Coffee Houses, Hostelries, and Taverns, from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Time* (London: John Camden Hotten, 1872) xiv, 544 p., 18 leaves of plates at 6.

[71] Le Jeune, A 1979, *The Gentlemen's Clubs of London*, Macdonald and Janes, London and Le Jeune, A 1993, *White's The First 300 Years*, A & C Black (Publishers) Limited, London

[72] Timbs, *Clubs and Club Life in London: With Anecdotes of Its Famous Coffee Houses, Hostelries, and Taverns, from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Time*.

[73] Barbara Black, *A Room of His Own: A Literary-Cultural Study of Victorian Clubland* (Athen, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2012).

background, not only by outlining their development as single sex organisations but also by positioning their cultural significance.

Directly addressing the issue of exclusivity and powerful networks within a specific club are studies by Phillips[74], Domhoff[75] and Porter[76], each of which look at the elite nature of the powerful Bohemian Club in San Francisco (BCSF), an exclusive men's club which has a long and proud history of tradition in the performing arts. Although long having lost its way as a real '*bohemian*' club as such, the BCSF still maintains a core membership of artists, poets and musicians amongst its membership and prides itself on its annual festival. In this way it is analogous with the MSC with its annual concerts and arts festival and strong art collection.

The thesis focus on the MSC collections within a privileged 'gentlemen's club' invites discussion on the issue of elitism. In *Theory of the Leisure Class,* written around the time of the founding of the MSC,[77] Veblen provides us with an early insight into the relationship of connoisseurship and the class privilege associated with Clubs and a bourgeois lifestyle. Half a century and two World Wars later, Mills[78] comments on Veblen's theory on conspicuous consumption and postulates that it no longer applies to the 'upper classes' but rather the *nouveau riche* of the corporate world. At the time of his writing, namely fifty-five years or two generations ago, Mills suggests that the clubs were truly exclusive in the sense that 'they are not widely known to the middle and lower classes in general' and 'the club provides a more intimate or clan-like set of exclusive groupings which places and characterises a man.'[79]

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[74] Phillips, Peter M 1994, 'A Relative Advantage: Sociology of the San Francisco Bohemian Club ', Doctor of Philosophy (Sociology) thesis, University of California

[75] Domhoff, Prof. G. William & New York: Harper & Row 1974, *The Bohemian Grove and other retreats: A study in ruling-class cohesiveness*, 1975 edn, Harper & Row, New York.

[76] Porter, G & Club, TB 1906, 'The Bohemian Jinks: a treatise '.

[77] Veblen, T 1899, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, 1 vols., Macmillan, New York.

[78] Mills, CW 1956, *The Power Elite*, 2000 edn, Oxford University Press, New York.

[79] *ibid* p. 61

In *Culture and Society*[80], Williams maintains that a common culture is not, at any level, an equal culture, yet equality of being is always essential to it, or common experience will not be valued. The claim of such opportunity, in Williams' view is based on the desire to become unequal. A desired inequality, which will in practice deny the essential quality of being, is not compatible with a culture in common. Clubs are manifestations of the tension between commonality and inequality and Weber, in the *Protestant Ethic*[81], could well be speaking of the MSC when he refers to membership of (American) clubs of the metropolitan plutocracy (which occurred through a selection process of ballot of those of 'good moral character' and involved close monitoring of activities) constituted a 'badge of respectability' that established one's good character, trustworthiness and social honour as a "gentleman". Weber saw these status groups as an extension of the 'protestant ethic' and as developing alongside of and 'in contrast to the naked plutocracy'.[82]

- ***Specific 'Arts' Clubs***

The culture and motivation surrounding 'art clubs' which sprang up around the English-speaking world is explored by Koppelman in her thesis on the 'Tile Club', founded in New York City in the late nineteenth century. Koppelman argues that membership of this *Gentlemen's Club* comprising painters, musicians, architects, illustrators and writers was not inconsistent with the exaggerated bohemianism projected by their activities.[83]

Both the YC and MSC based their 'arts' ethos on that of the LSC, founded in 1857 and arguably the first club to have a specific emphasis on the arts as a criteria for membership in its charter. Today the MSC and LSC maintain their strong links through reciprocity and MSC members in London temporarily or

[80] Williams, R, *Culture and Society, Coleridge to Orwell 1780-1950* (1983 edn., New York: Columbia University Press, 1958). p. 317

[81] Max Weber and Stephen Kalberg, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism with Other Writings on the Rise of the West* (4th [2009] edn.; New York: Oxford University Press, 1958) xviii, 582 p.

[82] *ibid*

[83] Koppelman, C. E. *Nature in art and culture: The Tile Club artists, 1870-1900* State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1985.

permanently either visit or join the LSC, actively maintaining this link. A study of publications on the LSC assists in an understanding of this arts culture and how it developed. The history of the Chelsea Arts Club[84] tells how Australian artists resident in London gravitated to it in the early twentieth century and both Tom Roberts and John Longstaff held office at the Chelsea Arts Club as an example of this active involvement. It is probably the closest 'non-Savage' arts club with which the MSC has a long association.

Naturally, other 'Savage' clubs have a shared ethos with the MSC and all have a deep involvement with the performing arts and often also the visual arts due to their adoption, to different degrees, of the ethos of the LSC. This is borne out in their histories[85] which reveal a commonality of culture that has emerged into a tradition and generated a strong bond between these clubs, those that have preferred to remain single-sex men's clubs and those that have chosen to succumb to either economic or societal pressures to remain viable by adopting mixed membership. Although the Bristol Savage Club is a broad 'arts' club, akin to the MSC, the 'Savage' clubs of Sydney and New Zealand have evolved into performance-based clubs.

Many of the artist bohemians and other creative individuals such as musicians, poets, and writers who have been attracted to the MSC and club life are featured in biographies and autobiographies and featured within other publications. These sources reveal strong social links between artists, their patrons and others, connecting them to the MSC as well as to major art movements such as the Australian Impressionists (*Heidelberg School*) and the *Bell-Shore School* and their involvement in the Australian Academy of Art (AAA) and its rival, the Contemporary Art Group (CAG).

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[84] Cross, T, *ARTISTS and BOHEMIANS. 100 Years with the Chelsea Arts Club* (First edn., London: Quiller Press, 1992; 1992).

[85] Histories of other 'Savage' clubs include: *The Days of Savagery 1945-1994 A History of the Eltham Savage Club, The Savage Spirit. One Hundred Years of Bristol Savages* John Hudson, *The Savage Spirit. One Hundred Years of Bristol Savages* (Bristol: Redcliffe, 2004). and *Sydney Savages 1934-1955* Adrian Ashton, *Sydney Savages 1934-1955* (First edn.; Sydney: Sydney Savage Club, 1955) 206. and *Sydney Savages 1956-1974* Adrian Ashton, *Sydney Savages 1956-1974* (First edn.; Sydney: Sydney Savage Club, 1974).

Biographies of artist members and art histories highlight a distinction between the cultural elites of Melbourne and Sydney in the early twentieth century, with literary Sydney focussed around J. F. Archibald's *The Bulletin*, with its racist masthead of "Australia for the White Man", and artistic Melbourne, with its Impressionist and Modernist art movements. The social worlds of Melbourne's wealthy elite and its artists frequently intersected and the biography of eminent architect Harold Desbrowe-Annear[86] and that of noted anthropologist, Professor Sir Baldwin Spencer[87], reveal the major part that patronage and networks played in society at the time. Both Desbrowe-Annear and Spencer established significant art collections and were close friends of many Savage artists and other influential Savage members such as (Sir) Keith Murdoch and Maurice Baillieu.

- ***The Collections***

Pearce speaks of 'souvenirs and fetishistic collections as attempts to create a satisfactory private universe and to freeze time'[88] and Susan Stewart continues

[86] Edquist, H 2004, *Harold Desbrowe-Annear 1865-1933: a life in architecture*, Miegunyah Press, Carlton, Victoria. Desbrowe-Annear was a great collector of Australian art as a consequence of his long association with many of the Savage artists through the VAS and the T-Square Club; Savage artists in his collection included George Coates, William McInnes, John Longstaff, Arthur Streeton, Daryl Lindsay, Walter Withers, Norman McGeorge, Harold Herbert, Frederick McCubbin, Tom Roberts, Edward Officer, John Mather, Blamire Young, Napier Waller and Charles Wheeler and he also had strong friendships with Alf Vincent, George Bell and J. S. MacDonald. Savage artist, Alf Vincent put Desbrowe-Annear up for membership of the MSC in 1900 but the nomination never proceeded. Another Savage artist, W. B. McInnes' painting of Desbrowe-Annear was awarded the first Archibald Prize.

[87] Derek John Mulvaney and J. H. Calaby, *So Much That Is New: Baldwin Spencer, 1860-1929, a Biography* (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 1985) xii, 492 p., [36] p. of plates.. Baldwin Spencer was very active in Melbourne society and a great supporter of Australian artists of the time and his collection of Australian impressionist art was one of the largest in private hands ever made. As an art collector and connoisseur, he played an important role in promoting the careers of many artists, including Streeton and Heysen, and, as a trustee of the NGV, was influential in the gallery acquiring works of Australian artists. He also donated a series of historic photographs of indigenous Australians to the MSC.

[88] Pearce, SM (ed.) 1994, *Interpreting objects and collections*, Leicester readers in museum studies., Routledge, London ; New York. P. 201

this when she argues that: 'the souvenir speaks of a context of origin through a language of longing, for it is not an object arising out of a need or use value; it is an object arising out of the insatiable demands of nostalgia'[89].

Although Knell[90] suggests that collections derived from a popular pursuit of the early twentieth century may be less relevant today, or may instead represent an anachronism, there is an underlying element within the ethos of the MSC that resists the passage of time through clinging onto the mementoes of a past world and stubbornly opposing any change in their display. Duclos emphasises the aspects of the 'cartographies of collecting' and how the aesthetic, taxonomic and symbolic values of objects is used in constructing a notion of 'place' and how 'place' is, in turn, integral in creating a sense of identity. She speaks of the transporting power of collections and their ability to invoke in the viewer a personal encounter with another time and place,[91] a feature conveyed to the MSC through its unchanged interior.

Baudrillard[92] defines 'the systematic cultural connotation at the level of objects' as 'Atmosphere' and Whitehead suggests that Ruskin saw art objects as inherently documentary and thus useful for the study of topics beyond themselves. He suggests that, whilst different peoples have inherent characteristics which are revealed by art, sometimes 'the interpretational value resides in its location and its use within social practice'[93] and, in the case of the Savage, their contribution to creating a 'sense of place'. The focus on space by these scholars resonates well with the argument being developed in that the intangible is a major distinguishing feature of the MSC and the collections contained within its walls.

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[89] Stewart, S 1984, *On longing: narratives of the miniature, the gigantic, the souvenir, the collection*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore. p. 135

[90] Knell, Simon J. *Care of Collections.* London: Routledge, 1994. p. 1

[91] Rebecca Duclos in: Simon J. Knell, *Museums and the Future of Collecting* (Aldershot, Hampshire, Great Britain ; Brookfield, Vt.: Ashgate, 1999) 200 p. at 48-60.

[92] Baudrillard *op cit*

[93] Simon J. Knell, Sheila E. R. Watson, and Suzanne Macleod, *Museum Revolutions: How Museums Change and Are Changed* (London: Routledge, 2007) xxvi, 385 p. p. 53

Pearce observes that one of the prerogatives of private property and wealth is that if a person or organisation possess a private collection of works then he has the right to display them or not as he wishes unless he has made a claim on the state for assistance.[94] This 'private' nature of the MSC has evolved as a key contributor to the distinctiveness of its collection as, in many aspects, the MSC collections are analogous to the private museums of nineteenth century Britain and America, founded around private collections with restricted access to audiences selected by the collectors themselves. Although these institutions were often restricted to specific social groups and their audiences relatively insulated from the broader society of which they were part, often this insulation from Government regulations has ultimately prevented fragmentation of their collections.

This independence from bureaucracies and professional curatorial guidelines is a key factor in the creation of the MSC collections and has ensured that they are being assessed in essentially the same situation as when they were first developed, nearly a century before. It will be argued that this fundamental point of difference contributes to their significance and the distinctive nature of the collections.

A distinguishing characteristic of the Melbourne Savage Club collection

As mentioned in the introduction, the founding members and Committee of the MSC did not envisage that one day the Club would boast a large collection and certainly they made no attempt to establish one as a conscious exercise. Baekland draws a distinction between 'accumulators' and 'collectors'; 'the accumulator passively and uncritically amasses a motley assortment of things that pass his way, the collector actively seeks out only certain kinds of objects in which he is interested. '[95] Whilst this thesis will illustrate that there was no deliberate attempt to 'collect' or curate a collection, the culturally-rich nature of

[94] Pearce, SM 1995, *Art in museums*, New research in museum studies: an international series, Athlone, London; Atlantic Highlands, NJ. pp. 94-106

[95] *Psychological aspects of art collecting* in Susan M. Pearce (ed.), *Interpreting Objects and Collections* (Leicester Readers in Museum Studies., London ; New York: Routledge, 1994) xii, 343 p. at 205, ibid. at 205

the MSC membership, ensured that it was a self-fulfilling prophesy that the development of what started out as 'accumulation' would morph into a distinctive collection.

This was for a number of reasons, the principal one being the fact that the Club had a large proportion of highly talented artists join in the early years, all of whom were well-known to each other and who mixed together previously. This association, either in the informal artist clubs referred to in Chapter III, as active members of the VAS, as 'Black and White' artist colleagues at one of the newspapers, as graduates of the Gallery School and as members of small groupings such as the 'T-Square Club'[96] or 'Twenty Melbourne Painters' (TMP)[97], ensured that the various genres and later collection categories were all represented by the cream of Melbourne's artistic community. Accordingly, when the artist members donated their works to the Club or prepared artworks to illustrate the menus for the 'Smoke Night' concerts, there was a certain cohesion, which, whilst unintended, resulted in an aesthetic consistency and a strong representation in each of the genres which the Club was ultimately to feature.

Various definitions of what constitutes a collection exist but possibly it is best summed up by Pomian, who claims that a collection must satisfy the following criteria: 'a set of natural or artificial objects, kept temporarily or permanently out of the economic circuit, afforded special protection in enclosed spaces adopted specifically for that purpose and put on display.'[98] Belk describes collecting as 'the selective, active and longitudinal acquisition, possession and disposition of an interrelated set of differentiated objects that constitute and

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[96] The 'T-Square Club' was founded in 1900 and is claimed to be the oldest arts and craft club in Australia . it was founded by Harold Desbrowe Annear and first met at the Working Man's College (now RMIT University).

[97] Peter Pinson and Paul Mcdonald Smith, '*90 Years of the Twenty Melbourne Painters Society*', in Glen Eira Gallery (ed.), (Melbourne: Twenty Melbourne Painters Society, 2008). Members of TMP are still associated with the MSC.

[98] Pearce (ed.), *Interpreting Objects and Collections* at 162. The definition of Pomian relating to works being kept permanently out of the economic circuit is a specific feature of the MSC collection.

derive extraordinary meaning from the entity that this set is perceived to constitute.'[99]

In their paper, *No two alike: play and aesthetics in collecting,* the word 'collecting' is used narrowly by Danet and Katriel to refer to certain types of future-orientated activity; for them, to collect is to set up an agenda for future action for oneself. They described the distinctive feature of the activity of a collector as their 'concern with making fine discriminations about items that may or may not enter the collection.'[100]

Danet and Katriel formulated four general rules that constitute prototypical collecting activity that have some resonance with the MSC's approach. Their rules are as follows:

> The Reframing rule, whereby for an object to become part of a collection it has to be *reframed* as a collectable, that is, as a potential member of a category of objects that can be treated as aesthetic objects.
>
> The Classification rule, where, for an assemblage of objects to become a collection, they must be defined as belonging to a subordinate *category*.
>
> The Procedural rule, where collectors must create and follow *procedures* for cultivating the collection.
>
> The Discrimination rule, whereby, for an assemblage of items to be considered a collection, each item must be different from others in some way discernable to the collector.[101]

With the exception of the Procedural rule, which was only to emerge in the late twentieth century when the MSC Art Committee finally realised they had a distinctive and possibly valuable collection on their hands, the collection of the MSC nevertheless meets Danet and Katriel's criteria.

Pomian observes that the possession of a collection 'confers a certain prestige on their owners, since they serve as proofs of their good taste, of their

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[99] Russell W. Belk, *Collecting in a Consumer Society* (London: Routledge, 2001) x, 198 p. at 8.

[100] Pearce (ed.), *Interpreting Objects and Collections* at 224,5.

[101] *ibid* at 225

considerable intellectual curiosity, or even their wealth and generosity.'[102] As a Club, the MSC in the early twentieth century had a disproportionate percentage[103] of artists, men of letters and taste-makers in its membership. This ensured that, not only was it likely to develop in a different manner than its counterparts in the more conservative clubs, which catered for the aristocracy of birth and for men of commerce, but also its collection evolved without the dual motives of decoration and investment which characterised the collections of these other Clubs.

A Collection of souvenirs

When Bourdieu speaks of museums as 'the sacred places of art' he compares them with 'ancient palaces or large historic residences ….where bourgeois society deposits relics inherited from a past which is not its own'[104] he could be speaking of a situation analogous with the MSC and its extensive collection of artefacts and other memorabilia reminding its members of a past era. Adopting the analogy that Paardekooper has used for museums as 'shelters for memories'[105] it is submitted that the MSC and its collections also fulfil this role. Similar to museums, the Club has collected and presented objects from the past that are worth remembering and provide a glimpse of early Melbourne club life to the current generation of members and their guests. This linking of the past with the present through the decor and images assists the viewer where memory alone cannot.

Pearce speaks of 'souvenirs and fetishistic collections as attempts to create a satisfactory private universe and to freeze time'[106] and Susan Stewart continues this when she argues that: 'the souvenir speaks of a context of origin through a

[102] *ibid* at 163

[103] In the early twentieth century, leading artists represented about 8% of the membership of the Melbourne Savage Club. This is in stark contrast to the end of the century when the percentage of artists had dropped below 2%, most of them minor.

[104] Bourdieu, Pierre & Darbel, Alain. *The Love of Art. European Art Museums and their Public.* p. 112

[105] Roeland Paardekooper, '*Evoking the Past, Shaping the Future* ', *ICOM News,* 64/2 (July 2011 2011) at 8.

[106] Pearce, SM (ed.) 1994, *Interpreting objects and collections*, Leicester readers in museum studies., Routledge, London ; New York. p. 201

language of longing, for it is not an object arising out of a need or use value; it is an object arising out of the insatiable demands of nostalgia'[107]. The MSC is the 'private universe' of which Pearce speaks where the collection is on full view to members yet hidden from the public.

Intangible Cultural Heritage and a 'sense of place'

This thesis continues the argument that 'place' and 'community' both have crucial roles in determining significance of the MSC and each are a major contributor to the strength of its heritage values.

UNESCO's adoption, in 2003, of the *Convention for the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage*[108] forged an inextricable link between the tangible and the intangible. In their draft charter, the definition of intangible cultural heritage included, *inter alia*:

> *Intangible cultural* heritage is constantly recreated by communities in response to their environment and historical conditions of existence, and provides them with a sense of community and identity, thus promoting *cultural diversity and human creativity*.[109]

This convention, tying together tangible and intangible heritage was recognition of culture as a holistic concept, however the intertwining of the two was often not an easy marriage after years focussed solely on the creation of tangible heritage such as monuments and artefacts[110]. The convention recognised that the materiality of the past, whilst important, was not the only factor giving rise to a sense of *place* and this created much discourse, not only on the definition of intangible, but also of community. Later the 2006

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[107] Stewart, S 1984, *On longing: narratives of the miniature, the gigantic, the souvenir, the collection*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore. p. 135

[108] Unesco (Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention), '*Convention on the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*', (Paris: UNESCO, 2003).

[109] Cited in: Janet Blake and Institute of Art and Law (Great Britain), *Commentary on the 2003 Unesco Convention on the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (Leicester [England]: Institute of Art and Law, 2006) xviii, 180 p. at 33.

[110]Refer earlier Unesco (World Heritage Convention), '*1972 Convention for the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage*', in Department of Foreign Affairs (ed.), (1992 edn., Australian Treaty Series 1975 No. 47; Canberra/Paris: Australian Government Publishing Service 1975/1972), 12.

Convention[111] meeting on intangible cultural heritage defined community as 'a network of people whose sense of identity and connectedness emerges from a shared relationship that is rooted in practice and transmission of or engagement with intangible cultural heritage.'[112] Blake argues that 'the issue of safeguarding intangible cultural heritage is by its nature controversial since it can only be achieved through recognition of the central role communities play in its creation and safeguarding.'[113] This thesis will argue that community and 'sense of place' each play important roles in the formation of the MSC collection and its ongoing significance.

Duclos speaks of the aspects of the 'cartographies of collecting' and how the aesthetic, taxonomic and symbolic values of objects are used in constructing a notion of place and how place is, in turn, integral in creating a sense of identity. She speaks of the transporting power of collections and their ability to invoke in the viewer a personal encounter with another time and place.[114]

This linking of the past with the present, through the decor and images, assists where memory alone cannot. Inextricably linked, the interior fit-out of the MSC and its collections came into being at much the same time and have essentially been retained as they were for nearly a century, transporting visitors to the Club back into the early twentieth century.

Tangible versus Intangible

In her introduction to *Uses of Heritage*[115], Smith reminds us that heritage isn't only about the past or just about material things, but rather it is a 'process of engagement, an act of communication and an act of making meaning in and for

[111] The 17 November 2006 meeting of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in Algiers refers. (UNESCO UIHS/ACCU)

[112] Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa (eds.)*, Intangible Heritage,* eds. Laurajane Smith and William Logan *(*Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY: Routledge, 2009) xiii, 312 p. at 144.

[113] Blake and Institute of Art and Law (Great Britain), *Commentary on the 2003 Unesco Convention on the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* at 35.

[114] Rebecca Duclos in: Knell, Watson, and Macleod, *Museum Revolutions: How Museums Change and Are Changed* at 48-60.

[115] Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (New York: Routledge, 2006) xiv, 351 p. at 1-7

the present'[116]. She explores the idea of heritage as a cultural and social process, which engages with acts of remembering that work to create ways to understand and engage with the present in order to 'construct, reconstruct and negotiate a range of identities and social and cultural values and meanings in the present'[117]. The premise of her position is that all heritage is intangible notwithstanding the fact that often it may incorporate tangible manifestation in the form of an object or a place.

Places[118] are socially constructed and the sense of 'heritage place' inherent in the MSC comes about through the cultural processes of meaning and memory making and remaking rather than the highly-visible collection and the Clubhouse building itself, which merely serves as an anchor for the shared experiences of its members. Smith quotes an observation of Dawson Munjeri at a UNESCO conference: 'cultural heritage should speak through the values that people give it, not the other way round ... the tangible can only be understood and interpreted through the intangible'.[119] Following this further, for a 'place', fine artwork or artefact to be heritage it must be 'used' and speak to the current generation through its symbolism.

It is maintained by the researcher that the real value and meaning inherent in the MSC collection(s) is contingent on the inter-relationship between the performances of the membership and the maintenance of Club's traditions with the physical place as represented by the Clubhouse and the collection(s) itself.

[116] *ibid* at 1-7

[117] Refer to Smith's argument in Smith, *Uses of Heritage* at 1-7.

[118] The term 'place' was specifically adopted by the *Burra Charter* in preference to site or building.

[119] Cited in Smith, *Uses of Heritage* at 108.

CHAPTER II RESEARCH DESIGN

Introduction

This research project is based on the hypothesis that the individual collections that collectively constitute the MSC holdings exhibit features that make them both distinctive and significant in terms of Australia's cultural heritage. The presumption underlying this is that, whilst most of the collection dates from the early twentieth century, its genesis is a product of the colonial values of the nineteenth century when many of the artists and donors were making their mark. Its display remains in-situ much as it existed nearly a century ago.

The commitment to privacy, axiomatic for private clubs, creates methodological difficulties for most researchers and this reluctance to participate in research or allow interrogation of archival documents is the reason why they are so rarely investigated.[120] In this case, however, the researcher held an executive position within the MSC and was able to obtain the unanimous approval of the other directors to undertake this research thesis. Accordingly, the unfettered access permitted to the MSC archives and membership records, allowed in association with this particular research, provided a unique research opportunity for a revelatory case study.

The researcher was able to be guided by the afore-mentioned familiarity that membership of the MSC allowed and this conferred on him 'the ability to see through the unique lens of his own socio-culturally constructed values and common background, gender, ethnicity and social class' as the majority of members.[121]

Interpretation

As the crux of this dissertation is an analysis and interpretation of the cultural significance embodied in the MSC collection, it was important to adopt an

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[120] Research on private clubs by two senior research fellows from the Hospitality Research Group, University of North London, note in their methodology how they were forced to rely on interviews with managers and observation (when permitted) as the main tools of inquiry. Peacock, M & Selvarajah, D 2000, '*"Space I call my own": private social clubs in London*', *International Journal of Contemporary Horpitality Management*, vol. 12, no. 4, pp. 234-9.

[121] Thomas, *op cit* & Somekh & Lewis, *op cit* pp. 3-40, 138-45

overarching approach which would bring the reader to this viewpoint. Tilden offers two concepts for interpretation: firstly that 'interpretation is the revelation of a larger truth that lies behind any statement of fact' and secondly that' interpretation should capitalise mere curiosity for the enrichment of the human mind and spirit'.[122] It is not the mere unearthing of hitherto unknown facts which is to be a feature of the approach but what they can reveal to us of a revelatory nature and which can give rise to deeper appreciation of what the collection represents.

The Design Frame

The researcher commenced by undertaking quantitative research to uncover trends and features which might distinguish the collection. An outcome of this initial quantitative approach was that new hypotheses and explanations, not hinted at by the original research objective, emerged through an analysis of the data. This caused a rethink of both the research question and its most appropriate methodology.

It quickly became clear that understanding these complex interrelationships was the key to establishing a chain of evidence, utilising it to argue the distinctiveness and significance of the case. Following on from this, the researcher adopted a qualitative approach and by employing an ongoing interpretive role was able to achieve the 'thick description'[123] espoused by Geertz and to address the initial question and the hypotheses which later emerged.

Austin and Hickey maintain that interpretation of the object is inseparable from the historic dynamics that have shaped it, and they encourage researchers to locate themselves 'outside' of the spatialised and mediated contexts that

[122] Freeman Tilden and R. Bruce Craig, *Interpreting Our Heritage* (4th edn.; Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2008) ix, 212 p. at 33.

[123] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (London: Hutchinson, 1973) ix, 470 p. at 3-30. Geertz maintains that analysis of culture is an interpretive journey in search of that significance. *Ibid* at 5.

formulate their identities and to adopt processes of autoethnographic reflexivity and 'self-critique' in order to analyse them.[124]

Modus Operandi

The genesis of this inquiry was a curiosity as to why the extensive collection of the MSC appeared to be so distinctive and to uncover what contributed to its apparent uniqueness.

The first step in seeking an answer to this question was to analyse what constituted the overall collection and what sub-categories existed. Very early on it became apparent that, in relation to the fine art component of the overall collection, a significant number of the works were actually those of members of the Club themselves.

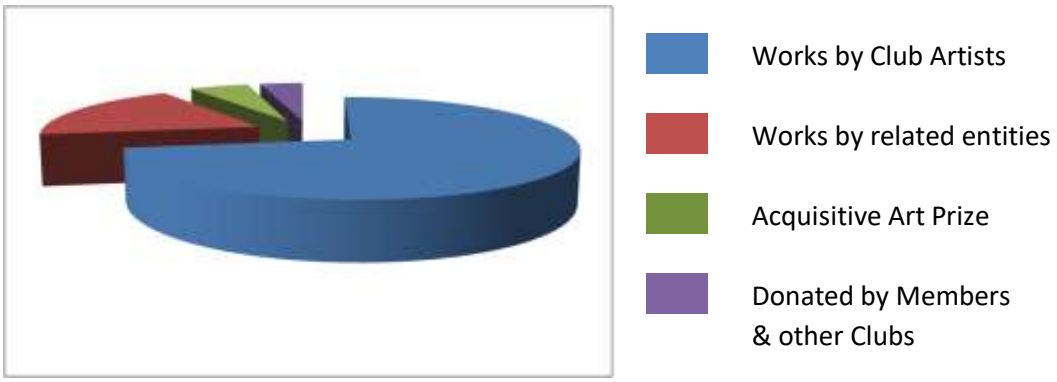

Figure 1 Origin of fine artworks by artist

As seen in the above pie chart, over 75% of works were done by Club artists themselves and another 16% were done by related entities, including family members and close associates. Of the remainder, 4% were donated by members and 5% were the result of the Savage Acquisitive Art Prize which has been running biennially since 1987.

The next revelation of the collection analysis was that the overwhelming majority of the works were executed in the early part of the twentieth century and the next significant body of works was to start entering the collection in the early twenty-first century, leaving a gap of nearly half a century during which time very few additions to the collection occurred.

[124] Jon Austin and Andrew Hickey, '*Critical Pedagogical Practice through Cultural Studies*', *International Journal of the Humanities,* 6/1 (2008), 133-40 at 136.

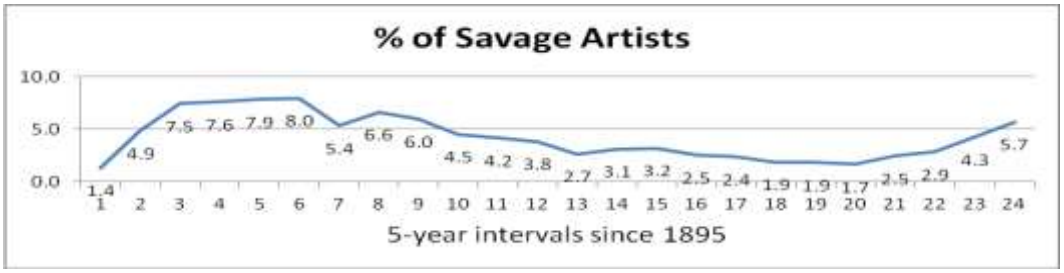

Figure 2 Artist Members as a Percentage of Total Club Membership

By charting the number of artists within the Club's overall membership and then graphing it as a percentage of the overall membership numbers, this lead to the realisation that Melbourne's artists had actually stopped joining the Club for a period in the late twentieth century, particularly professional artists, and that few works were acquired during this period of disengagement with artists.

In conjunction with this preliminary quantitative work, correlating the relationship between member numbers, artist numbers, and origin of artworks, a chronology of key events was produced. Creating this chronology at the outset and continually updating it provided an insightful descriptive pattern leading to identification of possible causal relationships to be further investigated.[125] Seeing the sequence of events chronologically listed also reinforced early assumptions and led to fresh hypotheses and the realisation that it would be necessary to revert to qualitative enquiry. Similarly, it was decided to adopt the case-study method to analyse this empirical data.

Because of the information relating to the composition of the collection and the period in which it was assembled, a study of the formation of the Club collection was adopted spanning the century, concluding in the mid twentieth century when the MSC and YC amalgamated. As a consequence, the research dealt with a 'dead past', a past where no living persons are alive to report, even retrospectively, what occurred. Accordingly, the research relied on documentary analysis of archives and secondary documents and the items within the Club collection themselves as the main sources of evidence, augmenting this with selected interviews and the researcher's own observations.

[125] Refer to Appendix II Chronology

A review of the adopted methodology

The following discussion addresses a number of the issues associated with the adopted methodology.

i. The Sum of the Collections

Whilst there are obvious similarities in the content of some of the individual collection categories, such as in the three categories of representational art, the collection was from the outset treated as a whole in this research. The MSC as a phenomenon is more than the sum of its parts and this premise has underpinned this research; the case has to be understood as a whole, rather than a set of interrelating variables.

As identified in the introduction, there are six collection categories within the MSC, each of which exhibits its own distinct characteristics and each of which contribute to the Club's significance. They are:

- *Ethnographic Collection*
- *Black and White Collection*
- *Landscape Paintings*
- *Portraiture and Busts*
- *Historic Photographs*
- *Miscellanea*

and the

- *Building Interior,*

each of which has the potential for a separate nested case study.

One aim of the research was to establish whether there were common characteristics in the various collections, whether these common features contributed to individual significance and whether the individual significance(s) augmented the significance of the overall case.

ii. Interpreting the past

To a large degree, the design of the research remained flexible and was, at times, adjusted during its course as fresh information was uncovered that warranted a new direction. At times it was necessary to adopt a positivist perspective and reconstruct the relationship with the past which directly and indirectly continues

to work in the present. This involved identifying the past in the present and developing an understanding of the developmental connections and linkages of the present with a specific historical past.

Gellner observes that 'the past was once the present, as *the present*, and it was real'[126] . Accordingly, it was important to recognise that what is being uncovered in looking at the MSC in an earlier era is not the past but merely 'the marks of the past in the present'. Ranke promoted the view that determining what really happened in the past was the essence of history and the interpretation of why it had happened was little more than expression of personal opinion[127], and in the case of the MSC, this interpretation is fundamental to establishing its significance to Australia's cultural heritage .

Whilst it is acknowledged that there were potentially many issues thrown up by the nature of the case study subject, such as gender and elitism, the temptation to theorise was avoided, unless important to developing an understanding of the case itself or crucial to answering the basic research question. As Wylie reminds us:

> even the most straightforward observational experience is actively structured by the observer and acquires significance as evidence ....only under theory -and "paradigm"-specific interpretation.[128]

The researcher has sought to adopt a relativist approach, firmly rooted in reality, 'not denying the reality of the past itself'[129]. Every attempt was made to have regard for the integrity and actuality of the past and the researcher has

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[126] Ernest Gellner, *Relativism and the Social Sciences* (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire] ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985) viii, 200 p. at 134.

[127] Leopold Von Ranke and Roger Wines, *The Secret of World History: Selected Writings on the Art and Science of History* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1981) x, 276 p., [2] p. of plates.

[128] M. A. Wylie in *Facts and Records of the past: Mandelbaum on the anatomy of history 'proper'. International Studies in Philosophy* 17: 71-85

[129] Gertrude Himmelfarb, *On Looking into the Abyss : Untimely Thoughts on Culture and Society* (1st Vintage Books edn.; New York: Vintage Books, 1995) xvi, 192 p. at 133.

strenuously attempted to enter into the minds and experiences of past members to reconstruct it as it 'actually was'[130].

iii. Document Analysis to achieve 'rich description'

With the research involving a study of the MSC focussing on the period from the late nineteenth century through to the mid twentieth century, an important staging point was to initially construct a strong contextual background from which to analyse the significance of the collection.

In the first instance this involved looking at the history of gentlemen's clubs and their culture, especially focussing on the bohemian movement and artistic clubs formed in the nineteenth century with bohemian aspirations. An understanding was also important of the events surrounding the early development of the Club such as Federation, the Great Depression, and the two World Wars, and the corresponding attitudes of the day which shaped colonial and early twentieth century society, such as racism, masculinity, and nationalism.

Similarly important was the need to research the major artists and philanthropists who contributed to the collection, as it emerged early in the research that the membership of these individuals within the Club and their contributions to the collection were a major factor leading to the distinctiveness of the collection. Although there are many secondary references on the study period, as well as some scholarly biographies on a number of the artists and prominent society figures associated with the MSC, it was important to this study to analyse newspapers and other contemporary publications of the day to gauge the social attitudes which then prevailed. To achieve this, the researcher extensively read books on a variety of topics published from the 1880s through to the mid twentieth century, some of which, such as Sutherland's *Victoria and its Metropolis*[131], provided a particularly rich description of the times. Many of

[130] *op cit* Ranke and Wines, *The Secret of World History: Selected Writings on the Art and Science of History*.

[131] Alexander Sutherland and R. L. J. Ellery, *Victoria and Its Metropolis: Past and Present Vol. I* (Melbourne: McCarron, Bird, 1888) 2 v. (xi, 594 xii, 822 p.).

the newspapers of the time however, such as *The Bulletin*,[132] were subject to influence by the political and social views of the editorial boards and it was often wise to focus also on contributions and letters-to-the-editor to form a balanced view of the attitudes of the day.

The fact that the study has been posited in the period from the mid nineteenth to mid twentieth century, and the obvious inability to make direct observation during the period being researched, meant that a major reliance fell back on documents from a variety of sources. While acknowledging their potential flaws, documents have a major advantage over interviews and observation—that is, their lack of reactivity. Because of their inert nature, distorting effects of the qualitative researcher's presence in the field in terms of behaviours, attitudes, and feelings, and respondent bias are all avoided by use of this data source.

From the outset, it was important to determine what documents were available for the study, and fortunately extensive archives were uncovered including minute books of both the YC and MSC dating from their foundation in 1868 and 1894 respectively. In addition to this, extensive research took place of publications of the day, including newspaper accounts, historic accounts, letters, and bibliographical material.[133] At all times however, the researcher, as the subjective interpreter of data, needed to take into account the original purpose of each document, the context in which it was produced, and the intended audience, so as to identify and allow for any bias.

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[132] At the same time, many Savage and Yorick arts worked as illustrators and cartoonists for *The Bulletin* and their attitudes are reflected in the Club's 'Black and White' collection.

[133] An example of this is: Baldwin Spencer and Public Library Museums and National Gallery (Vic.), *Guide to the Australian Ethnographical Collection Exhibited in the National Museum of Victoria* (Third edn.; Melbourne: Public Library, Museums and National Gallery, 1901) 88 p., 14 leaves of plates.. This publication not only explains the attitudes existing towards Australian Aboriginals but also assists in interpretation of the significance of the photographs of aboriginals by Baldwin Spencer within the Club's holdings. Spencer was also a great collector of Australian art and was a patron and friend of many MSC members, including *Heidelberg School* painter, Sir Arthur Streeton.

iv. Contextual analysis

Since qualitative data needs to be understood with context, it was important to research and document the background data first in relation to the social, political, and economic factors impacting on the club. The Club does not exist in a vacuum and it was important to understand the society of the day so as to establish linkages and determine significance. Similarly, as part of the process it was crucial to look at societal attitudes and historical events over the full period of the longitudinal study to allow the researcher to identify contemporary beliefs and values within the data and utilise them to construct theory by induction.

The final task undertaken, prior to commencement of the case study analysis, was to research published material relating to the establishment and management of collections and develop a solid understanding of collection theory. This not only assisted in determining what is deemed significant in relation to the collections categories but also, by familiarisation with other research in this area, the researcher was able to compare the distinguishing features of the MSC collections against other collections, extend the analysis further than what is normally required pursuant to *Significance 2,* and enter the heritage discourse.

v. Significance Criteria

The criteria adopted to establish heritage significance utilised established assessment methods adopted by Australia ICOMOS,[134] the Collections Council of Australia Ltd, and ICOMOS New Zealand.

The accepted research methodology of each of these bodies is similar and is set out in their published guidelines for assessing the significance of collections, namely:

- *The Burra Charter*[135]

[134] International Council of Monuments and Sites

[135] Australia ICOMOS *The Burra Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance 1999*, Australia ICOMOS 2000 edn.: Kingston, ACT: Australia ICOMOS, 1999, 24 p.

- *Significance 2.0*[136] and
- *The New Zealand Charter 2010*[137],

By utilising the assessment methods adopted by Australia ICOMOS, ICOMOS New Zealand and the Collections Council of Australia Ltd[138], the researcher has taken a position in relation to the tangible objects in the collection and entered into what Smith calls the 'Authorised Heritage Discourse' (AHD)[139]. However the most significant of these to the MSC collection is New Zealand ICOMOS *Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Heritage Value,* as revised in 2010 as importantly, this places emphasis on 'understanding a place and its cultural heritage value and cultural heritage significance'[140] especially places that have 'accrued meanings over time'. :

(i) have lasting values and can be appreciated in their own right;

(ii) inform us about the past and the cultures of those who came before us;

(iii) provide tangible evidence of the continuity between past, present, and future;

(iv) underpin and reinforce community identity and relationships to ancestors and land, and

(v) provide a measure against which the achievements of the present can be compared. [141]

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[136] Russell, Winkworth and Collections Council of Australia, *op cit* at v.

[137] ICOMOS New Zealand, *op cit* at 11.

[138] These are *The Burra Charter: The Australian ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance 1999, ICOMOS New Zealand Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Heritage Value* (ICOMOS New Zealand Charter 2010) and *Significance 2.0 – a guide to assessing the significance of cultural heritage objects and collections* (Collections Council of Australia 2001)

[139] The phrase 'Authorised Heritage Discourse' was coined by Smith in: Smith, *Uses of Heritage*. and attributed by Howard to Smith, Waterton and Campbell: Peter Howard, '*Editorial: Valediction and Reflection*', *International Journal of Heritage Studies,* 12/6 (2006/11/01 2006), 483-88.

[140] ICOMOS New Zealand, 2010, *op cit* at 2. Icomos New Zealand, '*Icomos New Zealand Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Heritage Value* (Icomos New Zealand Charter 2010) ', in Icomos New Zealand (ed.), (Auckland: ICOMOS New Zealand (Inc), 2010), 11 at 2.

[141] *ibid* at 1.

This inclusion is most important as it acknowledges that a country's entire heritage is important, not merely that of the indigenous communities.

vi. The Role of History

Tosh has drawn on a number of eminent historians in his anthology, *Historians on History*[142]. He acknowledges that the historian's craft emphasised two key aspects, firstly the rigorous procedures for interpretation of the primary sources of the period being researched but also the imaginative powers to stand in the shoes of the past (members) and enter their world. Galbraith supports this approach and contends that the primary object of historical research into primary sources should be 'an imaginative reconstruction of a different world: a personal effort to make the past, as it was, as much alive as the present.'[143]

Himmelfarb, similarly takes a modernist view encouraging the historian to:

> enter into the minds and experiences of the past, to try to understand them as they understood themselves, to rely upon contemporary evidence as much as possible, to intrude his own views and assumptions as little as possible, to reconstruct to the best of his ability the past as it 'actually was'.[144]

In this, Himmelfarb acknowledges the limitations and that the past cannot be recaptured in its entirety, if for no other reason than that the remains of the past are incomplete and are themselves part of the present causing the past to be irredeemably present. The researcher quotes Leibniz in the benefits of the study of social structural history underpinning this study: 'the origins of things present which are to be found in things in the past; for a reality is never better understood than through its causes'.[145]

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[142] John Tosh (ed.), *Historians on History : An Anthology* (Harlow, Essex, England: Pearson Education, 2000) 352p. Supporting his argument are Galbraith, Tosh at 33, Plumb at 50, Bloch at 171 and Trevor-Roper at 200

[143] Cited in: *ibid.,* at 24.

[144] Himmelfarb, *On Looking into the Abyss : Untimely Thoughts on Culture and Society* at 133-5.

[145] Cited by Bloch in Tosh (ed.), *Historians on History : An Anthology* at 171.

It is for the above reasons that the researcher has not pursued a post-colonial reading of the ethnographic collections, choosing instead to accept them as a time-warp from another era, wherein the Club members at the time were less likely to reflect the collection's identification with colonial values but rather saw it as an extension of their punning of the word "Savage" as an Antipodean bohemian identification with a subaltern 'other'.

vii. Participant observation

Ever since Malinowski suggested that an ethnographer's goal should be to grasp the "native's point of view..... and to realise *his* vision of the world"[146], there has been an expectation that "participant observation" would lead to human understanding through a field-worker's learning to see, think, feel, and sometimes even behave as an insider or "native".[147] Participant observation was originally forged as a method in the study of small, relatively homogeneous societies where an ethnographer lived in a society, participated in daily life and steadily observed. *Participant observation* (or as Bourdieu prefers, *participant objectivism*[148]) implies simultaneous emotional involvement and objective detachment, where ethnographers are both active participants and coolly detached observers of the lives of others. In this research, the researcher was similarly operating from an 'insider' perspective in looking at the culture of the MSC.[149]

The researcher in this study however brings not only an 'insider' perspective but invisibility through being a part of the community and not invoking power relations. This contributes to an understanding of the culture under study and

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[146] Bronislaw Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea* (Studies in Economics and Political Science; London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1922) xxxi, 527 p., [31] leaves of plates at 25.

[147] Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry* (2nd edn.; Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2003). p. 167

[148] Refer to Bourdieu's discussion on both 'subjectivism' and 'objectivisim' in Pierre Bourdieu and John B. Thompson, *Language and Symbolic Power* (Cambridge: Polity Press in association with Basil Blackwell, 1991) ix, 302 p. at 11-20.

[149] *ibid* p. 189

assists an appreciation of events in the Club's past as the collection developed.[150]

As Maynard points out in *On the Ethnography and analysis of Discourse in Institutional Settings:*

> 'In doing ethnography, researchers attempt to draw a picture of what some phenomenon "looks like" from an insider's account of the phenomenon and for the audience who wants to know about it. The ethnographer, in general, is in the business of describing culture from the members' point of view.'[151]

It must be emphasised that the term 'participant observer' is not used in the customary sense where the researcher positions themself in another world to observe and record and interpret their subject. Rather, in this case, the researcher is part of the physical entity however observing it from another era in time, with the advantage of a heightened appreciation of the culture, not available to a fully independent party.

This dissertation revolves around the notion of people as *meaning*-makers, putting an emphasis on understanding how the MSC members interpret the particular cultural world that they have constructed and utilise. The researcher submits that taking this ethnographic approach, where he positioned himself as an instrument of the investigation and acted as a participant observer of the case under study, this engagement with the case afforded insights not available to a more detached researcher. By being involved in this social world, the researcher was able to understand how the participants, namely the original MSC members, saw that world and therefore he was in a better position to describe how the culture functions.[152]

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[150] Unlike most organisations, cultural change within the MSC has not taken place at the same rate as the society in which it is posited. In effect it continues to retain many of the underlying values of its founding members.

[151] James A. Holstein and Gale Miller (eds.), *Perpectives on Social Problems*, eds. Department of Social and Cultural Sciences and Marquette University (Greenwich, Connecticut; London: JAI Press Inc., 1989) 315 at 130.

[152] Somekh, B & Lewin, C 2005, *Research methods in the social sciences*, SAGE, London. pp 16-23; Thomas, *op cit* pp 118-121

The researcher's understanding of the culture of the MSC[153] is assisted to a large part by sharing common social origins and coordinates (class, gender and ethnicity) to its membership. This 'insider' status however ensures that there can be no clear disinterested knowledge (as encouraged by positivism) and he acknowledges that his opinions, intentions and understandings affected the interpretation. He is a 'knower' and his own value position, interests and understandings were employed both to respond to the research question and to interpret the expressed views of others.

From the outset, the researcher acknowledged this potential for bias and controlled this by mutual and self-criticism and by reflexivity through maintaining a research journal throughout the process to bring together the afore-mentioned criticisms, notes on the methodology literature, random thoughts and ideas, and reading responses.

This 'insider' status, on the other hand, had many positive aspects for the research as it enabled the researcher to interact with members of the MSC, employing both unstructured observation, analysis of archival material held by the Club and unstructured interviews to seek to understand the particular providing a strong contextual framework from which to assess significance against the selected criteria.

Whilst the epistemological position of objective knowing, traditionally encourages a distancing and an absence of an emotional involvement with the subject, it was inevitable that, in this study, with a participative researcher approaching as an insider *ipso facto* by virtue of his membership of the MSC, a completely detached analysis was not possible. The symbols are value-laden and the unconscious recognition of their meaning is unerasable.

Throughout the study, it was important for the researcher to take careful account of this context and to continually question his interpretations to ensure

[153] The researcher has been a member of the MSC for fifteen years and holds the position of Vice President, where he is an executive director, Chairman of the Club's Art Committee and a member of the Artefact and Building Committees. He also is a member of other Melbourne Clubs, has visited many overseas clubs and is familiar with the collections of all the other major Melbourne Clubs.

that they were not unduly shaped by his underlying philosophical stance. On the other hand, by working within a hermeneutic circle and analysing the contributing features to the individual categories within the collection, the initial knowing made it easier to interpret them and understand how their linkages contributed to their own and collective significance in a cultural, historical and heritage context.

Concluding comments on the approach

Right from the outset, the researcher anticipated that the research would support the theory that the attitudes shaping the culture of MSC as an institution have not evolved at the same incremental rate compared with the rest of society, effectively allowing viewing from the benefit of a time warp, thereby contributing to a greater understanding of the subject.

In *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*[154], Glaser and Strauss advocate an inductive strategy whereby the researcher discovers concepts and hypotheses through constant comparative analysis of the data systematically obtained. They defend the use of qualitative research as the only way to obtain data on many areas of social life not amenable to the techniques for collecting quantitative data, and argue in support of generating a theory rather than opportunistically forcing an existing theory with a dubious fit. Notwithstanding they did not see a fundamental clash between the purposes and capacities of quantitative and qualitative methods or data, rather they instead saw the clash as occurring in emphasis on verification versus generation of theory, and qualitative data gained by using an *interpretivist* paradigm and quantitative data gained by using a *positivist* paradigm as being useful both for verification and generation of theory. Moreover, they saw both forms of data on the same subject as being necessary, not merely for one as a test of the other but as supplements and as a basis for mutual verification.

For the researcher, the early emerging quantitative data raised certain questions which could not be resolved by further quantitative enquiry, although it

[154] Refer to the Introduction to: Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory; Strategies for Qualitative Research* (Observations.; Chicago,: Aldine Pub. Co., 1967) x, 271 p. at 1-18.

suggested a direction to be travelled. Only by reference back to the framework of the social milieu, embedded issues, collection theories, and by over-viewing the identified collection categories could answers surface. The overview of all collection categories was purposely undertaken to identify both what is distinctive to and what are common aspects and linkages between the different collections of the MSC, enabling the researcher to draw conclusions about their significance both individually and collectively and to demonstrate the significance of a remarkable collection.

CHAPTER III THE GENESIS OF THE MELBOURNE SAVAGE CLUB (1868-1900)

Introduction

Both the MSC and the YC emulated the ideals of the LSC in their founding charters, in particular in relation to their bohemian aspirations and their focus on the arts. They also filled a gap perceived by the artistic community in Melbourne for a new club where they could mix socially and which would replace the small bohemian groups and the narrow focus of the existing art and music societies.

Pierre Bourdieu, referring to Parisian café society, comments on the seeming hypocrisy of artists and poets professing to be bohemian yet seeking out membership of 'exclusive' Clubs where they wined and dined in relatively opulent premises whilst they courted their wealthy patrons:

> Close to the 'people' whose poverty it shared, Bohemia was separated from the poor by the lifestyle in which it found social definition and which, however ostentatiously opposed to bourgeois norms and conventions, situated bohemia closer to the aristocracy or to the upper bourgeoisie, than to the petite bourgeoisie or the 'people'. All this is no less true for the most destitute members of Bohemia, who, secure in their cultural capital and in their authority as arbiters of taste, could get at a discount the outrageous sartorial splendours, the gastronomic indulgences, the affairs and liaisons – everything for which the 'bourgeois' had to pay full price.[155]

This was equally true for those practitioners in the arts who joined the LSC and later would prove true for the MSC.

To set up a proper framework on which to look at the significance of the MSC collections, it is therefore important to not only have an understanding of Melbourne society at the time of both the YC and the MSC's formation but to delve into the background of the culture of the Club, the major factor giving rise to its distinctiveness.

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[155] Pierre Bourdieu and Randal Johnson, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature* (Cambridge [England]: Polity Press, 1993) viii, 322 p. at p. 195

The London Savage Club

The LSC, founded in 1857, is not only the grandfather of London's bohemian clubs but the model for Arts Clubs the world over. It was formed to supply the want which Dr Samuel Johnson and his friends experienced when they founded the Literary Club. A little band of authors, journalists and artists felt the need of a place of reunion where, in their hours of leisure, they might gather together and enjoy each other's society, apart from the publicity of that which was known in Johnson's time as the coffee house, and equally apart from the chilling splendour of the modern club.

The qualification for admission to the London Savage Club was (and still is) to be 'a working man in literature or art, and a good fellow' and if a candidate met these requirements he would be cordially received 'come whence he may'. This was embodied in the Club's first rules which required applicants for membership to be from a restricted range of pursuits relating to the arts thought to be commensurate with its bohemian ideals, namely 'Art, Literature, Drama or Music'[156].

Halliday, in explaining the workings of the Club, again in the preface to the Savage Papers, commented thus:

> As to our Bohemian life, it consists in our assembling once a week to dine together at a board, where we have had the honour to entertain distinguished literary men from all quarters of the globe, and where the stranger, who is of our own class, is ever welcome.[157]

Entertainment of these visitors was at 'Smoke Nights' or 'House Dinners' where Club members, talented in the arts, sang, recited or played musical instruments to the entertainment of their 'Brother Savages'. The artists promoted the events by preparing illustrated menus and promotional posters for the events. These traditions were adopted by other bohemian clubs and generally distinguished them from the more conservative gentlemen's clubs.

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[156] This was later changed to add *Science* and *Law*. These six categories remain today.

[157] Halliday *op cit* p. xii

The Yorick Club

Much to the chagrin of Marcus Clarke and his poet friends, Adam Lindsay Gordon and Henry Kendall, nothing in the way of a bohemian club existed in Melbourne in the late 1860s.

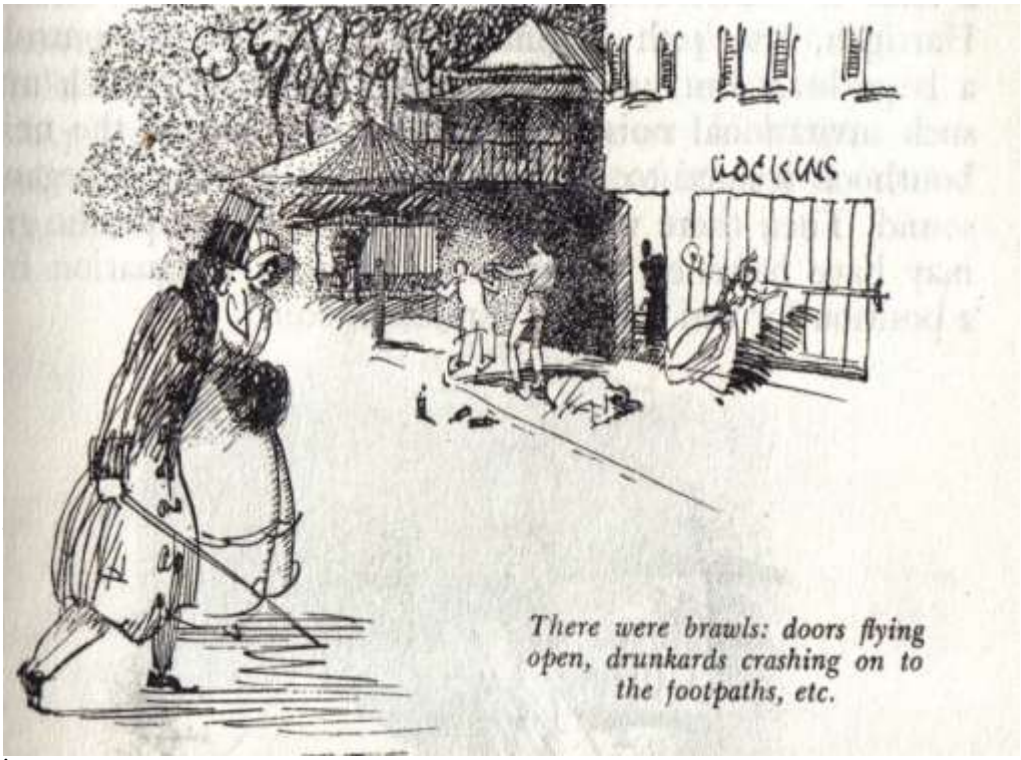


Figure 3 Bourke Street

My Father and My Father's Friends: Hugh McCrae (Norman Lindsay)

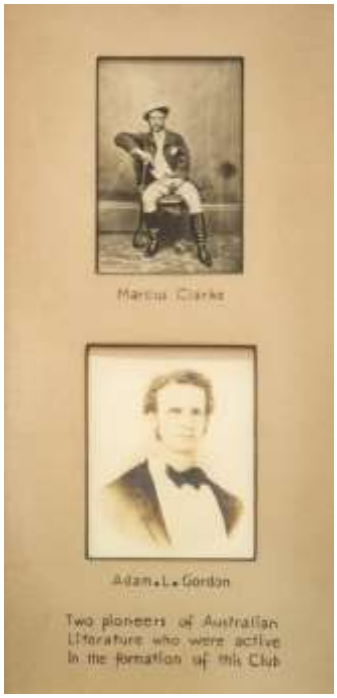
To escape the conservative squattocracy of the Melbourne Club[158] and the merchants and workers in the public houses, for some time literary men had gathered, first in F.W. Haddon's and Marcus Clarke's rooms and later at Nissen's Café in Bourke Street. In April 1868, a more formal meeting took place for the purpose of forming a club at Nissen's Café between Messrs Dr Aubrey Brown, Marcus Clarke, Adam Lindsay Gordon, Hamilton MacKinnon, Alfred Telo, John J. Shillinglaw and Tom Carrington.

Many of this group had very influential positions: Francis William Haddon was editor of *The Australasian* and subsequently *The Argus;* historian, John Joseph Shillinglaw was the owner of the *Colonial Monthly Magazine* and publisher of the

[158] Ironically, one month after Clarke founded the YC he was to take up membership of the august Melbourne Club. Brian Elliot, *Marcus Clarke* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958) 281 at 92.

*Historical Records of Port Phill*ip; Francis Thomas Dean Carrington was cartoonist for *Punch.* Later when the *Sketcher* merged with the *Australasian*, Carrington became art editor, and later was drama and art critic for *The Argus*.

Another prominent founder, James Smith, was later to achieve notoriety as an art critic for the *Argus*, particularly for his trenchant criticism of the 1889 *'9 x 5 Exhibition*'. His review was widely reported and debated. Notwithstanding this, historian, Bernard Smith, described James Smith as 'the first journalist to work in Australia sufficiently knowledgeable and experienced in the visual arts to present an informed, professional view consistently and to maintain it.'[159] He attributed James Smith as being largely responsible for the emergence of a serious interest in arts and letters in Melbourne and with men like Marcus Clarke, Adam Lindsay Gordon, Henry Kendall and George McCrae, Bernard Smith maintained that the YC was largely responsible for Melbourne, in those years, becoming the literary capital of Australia.[160]



At the outset, Marcus Clarke insisted that the new club should be absolutely bohemian and its members 'were to sit on kerosene tins, smoke churchwardens and drink nothing but beer out of pewters'.[161] This was later modified when bundles of tied-up newspapers were found in a back room which could be fashioned into saddle-back chairs (Fig 5).[162]

Figure 4 Clark & Gordon
This pair of photos hangs in the Third World Bar.

[159] *Bernard Smith, Documents on Art and Taste in Australia: The Colonial Period, 1770-1914 (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1975) xi, 299 p. at 144.*

[160] *ibid* at 132.

[161] Bell, *Yorick Club Reminiscences*. at p. 11

[162] McCrae *op cit* at pp. 19-21

Figure 5 The Yorick Club
Source: My Father and My Father's Friends: Hugh McCrae (Norman Lindsay)

The rationale for the establishment of a club catering for bohemians was obvious to Clarke and the others but is best summed up perhaps by Ransome's argument for a club when speaking about London:

> What clubs there must have been; and yet why regret them? What Clubs there are today; what Clubs there will be until man changes his nature, and becomes an animal that does not talk, or drink, or smoke. If you, O honest, not inhuman reader, ever find your way into Bohemia, my best wish for you is a Club, a company of fellows as jolly as yourself, a good cosy room, a free-burning hearth, plenty of whatever tobacco smokes best in your pipe, of whatever liquor flows easiest in your gullet, of whatever talk, of poetry, of romance, of pictures, sounds sweetest in your ears.[163]

In *'Bohemia in London'*, Ransome discussed the idea of the artist leading a life often troubled by financial difficulties, but then rewarded and renewed by bouts of 'extravagance'. This usually took the form of 'drinking, talking and smoking' at artistic clubs in order to engender social and professional solidarity!

[163] Ransome *op cit* p218

The original rules of the YC reflected the great bohemian ideal and focus on the arts. It set out the "Object of the Club" as follows:

> The Yorick Club is established for the purpose of bringing together literary men and those connected with literature, art or science.[164]

At the Annual General Meeting of the Club, held on 1st July 1871, this objective (Rule 1) was amended as follows:

> The Yorick Club is established for the purpose of bringing together literary, artistic, scientific and professional men.[165]

This change, thereby, opened the membership up to solicitors and other professionals, and whilst not destroying the focus of the Club, allowed it to seek out higher membership numbers for its survival, albeit at the compromise of the bohemian ideals and hitherto cultural exclusivity. Following the relaxing of criteria, a number of members of the Melbourne Club joined the Yorick, including Joseph Anderson Panton, police magistrate, etcher and artist,[166] and the consequent influx of lawyers, architects and medical men ensured the immediate viability of the Club.

In 1883, two years after the death of Clarke, and now on a firm footing due to its increased membership, the Yorick took over "Haigh's" in Collins Street, immediately west of Swanston Street. This move provided it with expanded premises over three floors and the Club was now in a position to entertain distinguished visitors at dinners and suppers. Notable overseas visitors to be entertained included Rudyard Kipling and Mark Twain. It had now evolved into what we generally associate with a 'gentlemen's club' as distinct from a bohemian entity and, when it later merged with the MSC, there was very little to distinguish the two.

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[164] Bell *op cit* p.18

[165] *ibid* p.19

[166] Joseph Anderson Panton was later to go on to be the first artist member to join the Melbourne Savage Club in 1895.

Melbourne's artist clubs: the Buonarotti Club, the Prehistoric Order of Cannibals, and the Ishmael Club

Mead claims that: 'by the end of the Nineteenth Century, Melbourne had experienced a sustained period of heightened artistic activity involving the concepts of 'Bohemia and brotherhood'.[167] Mead's thesis analysed four significant artists' clubs, founded after the Yorick, but preceding the Savage. Largely focussed on the visual arts, the clubs were the Buonarotti Club, the Stray Leaves Club, the Prehistoric Order of Cannibals, and the Ishmael Club. The men who later were to be the nucleus of the MSC artist membership were heavily involved in each of these.

The first of these, the Buonarotti Club, was founded in 1883 after a meeting at the YC, as a new bohemian artistic, literary and musical society and its membership included future Savage artists, Frederick McCubbin, Tom Roberts, John Mather, John Longstaff, John Ford Patterson, Walter Withers and Alexander Colquhuon. This club, like the others, had similar ideals to the YC and the Rules of the Club were proposed with the Objects of the Society:

> The objects of the "Buonarotti" shall be the cultivation and practice of Art, Literature and Music among its members.[168]

At the next meeting, only after much discussion and some minor amendments, the rules were adopted.

The club was very active and when the 'Artistic Committee' of the Buonarotti Club was formed in 1886, amongst its five members, three were to go on and become Savages (viz. McCubbin, Roberts and Mather). In addition to its fortnightly gatherings, 'Conversaziones' with formally printed programmes were scheduled three times a year featuring acts by members and a members' art exhibition. The last minuted meeting took place on Tuesday, 23rd August 1887 when the artist John Longstaff and his wife were farewelled for England to take up the National Gallery School's first travelling scholarship in 1887, which he had won with his painting *'Breaking the News'*.

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[167] Mead *op cit* p. 129

[168] Melbourne, SLV, *ibid*. The minutes show that the motion was proposed at the meeting on 11th July 1885, and adopted meeting at the 25th July 1885,

Following the demise of the Buonarotti Club, it was not long before another bohemian artists' club was to emerge in Melbourne, the 'Prehistoric Order of Cannibals' or the 'Cannibal Club', which was established in 1893. This irreverent club, largely comprising 'Black and White' artists, musicians and art students was to survive until 1896, shortly after making Tom Roberts an associate member. Its period of existence mirrored the depression following the land boom, and life was cheap for the young bohemian artists. A snapshot into what life was like may be found in Norman Lindsay's book, *A curate in Bohemia,* which was loosely modelled on the Cannibal Club and the lifestyle of its artist members.[169]
The last of the pure artist clubs to emerge around 1899 was the Ishmael Club[170], initiated by the author and journalist, Randolph Bedford, the Lindsay brothers, Lionel, Norman and Percy and the Dyson brothers, Will and Edward. Along with their band of bohemian journalists, artists and musicians, they first started meeting socially upstairs at Fasoli's Cafe in Lonsdale Street each Wednesday evening where they 'drank copious glasses of red wine, staged satirical plays, sang and read poetry'. [171]

The Ishmael Club was conceived by Bedford as a republican dining and debating society, with printed rules which vested control of business in a Joss, two vice-Josses and a Medicine Man, however Lionel Lindsay in his autobiography, suggestions that their interests were far broader and even included discussions on Neitzsche who they regarded as somewhat of a spiritual guide.[172] An idea of the club may also be found in the club's only newsletter, a pamphlet called *The Waddy*, which is held in the State Library of Victoria (SLV). Within the pamphlet there are Dyson sketches and a number of references in articles to various artists, many

[169] Norman Lindsay, *A Curate in Bohemia* (1981 edn.; Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1913) vii,248p.

[170] Ishmael in the Bible being the illegitimate son whom Abraham cast out, the Club's name reflected their view of themselves as the outsiders.

[171] Carolyn Webb, 'Melbourne Rhapsody', *The Age,* 23 August 2003 2003.

[172] Discussed by Lindsay in his autobiography. Lionel Lindsay and Peter Lindsay, *Comedy of Life: An Autobiography, 1874-1961* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1967) xviii, 272 p., [25] p. of plates at 119-30.

of whom were to go on to become Savages[173]. It's members were referred to in a poem about the Club by Louis Esson:

> . . Bohemian hearts they thrill and throb/with mateship, music, mirth /
> Stragglers, they've left the driven mob/from ends all of the Earth . . .[174]

The Ishmaels fragmented during 1901 as its members' careers advanced and the early Twentieth Century saw many of the artists travel abroad to Britain and Europe in search of greater opportunities. Others that stayed behind in Melbourne were mostly to join or frequent the Savage and Yorick Clubs. Their legacy was to establish an *Upper Bohemian* lifestyle and a culture that fostered higher levels of creativity within its members; one which would later lead many of them to achieve influential positions within Australian cultural life.

The Melbourne Savage Club is formed

Throughout the 1890s, concerts in the Melbourne Town Hall still played to full houses and one of the musical appreciation societies to emerge at this time was the Metropolitan Music Club. Established in the late 1880s by a group of professional and amateur musicians and music lovers, they met regularly in various hotels around the city.

It was out this small music group that a meeting was convened by seventeen of its members at the Café Continental at the Block Arcade on the 9th May 1894 to discuss forming a new club in which to meet and pursue their activities. Those present resolved to set up new club to be called the Melbourne Savage Club, adopting a constitution based on the LSC and nine days later, on 18th May, the club was formally to adopt the name *'The Melbourne Savage Club',* elect its first office bearers and chose Dr Harvey Astles, a music-loving medico, as the club's first president.

In Brennan's *Savage Jubilee: A Glimpse of the Nineties*, he describes the early members thus:

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[173] These included Will Dyson, Hal Waugh, John Mather, Alexander Colquhoun, Walter Withers, John Ford Paterson and Frederick McCubbin. Yorickers, Lionel and Percy Lindsay, were also mentioned.

[174] : Esson, Louis, 1900 *The Waddy.* Melbourne SLV Louis Esson was to go on to become a member of the MSC

> Our original Savage was an urbane man, the depression of the early nineties fell like a pall on him, but he had the resilience to cast it off.[175]

It was not to be until the following year, at the meeting on 11th September 1895, when Joseph Alexander Panton CMG was elected to membership (proposed Capt Burrows, Sec J. F. Pennefather)[176] that the first artist member was recorded as joining the new Club.[177] Panton was a good amateur artist who was connected with the foundation of the Victorian Academy of Arts in 1870 and the VAS[178] in 1888 and was already a member of the Yorick, Melbourne and Athenaeum Clubs, the latter of which he had been a founding member in 1868.[179] He was well-liked amongst the colony's small artistic community.

Although, professing to adopt the ideals of its London namesake at its inception, which required members to be involved with the fine arts, the newly-founded club was not to actively encourage this until a Special Meeting held on the twenty-seventh April 1896 formally resolved to amend Rule 6 to read:

> 6. The Entrance Fee shall be one guinea other than for members of the dramatic and musical professions who shall not be liable for any entrance fees;[180]

The Bohemian art clubs were now drawing to a close and author and Ishmael Club founder, George Randolph Bedford, (see Fig. 6) joined the Melbourne Savage Club in 1899 testing the Savage's attitudes to bohemianism. Randolph Bedford owned and edited the monthly *Clarion*, a *Bulletin*-style magazine, whose contributors included MSC members, Louis Esson and Will Dyson and YC member, Lionel Lindsay.[181]

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[175] William A. Brennan, '*William Brennan's Short Jubilee History of the Savage Club', The Cato Chronicles* (Melbourne: Melbourne Savage Club Archives, 1944), p. 32-38 at 35.

[176] Both Burrows and Pennefather were fellow police magistrates with Panton.

[177] Source: Melbourne Savage. Club, '*Minute Book May 1894-Feb 1902*', *Club Minute Books* (Melbourne: Melbourne Savage Club, 1894-1902).

[178] Panton was the first President of the Victorian Artists Society (1888-1893)

[179] Andrew Mackenzie, Frederick Mccubbin 1855-1917 *'the Proff and His Art'* (Australian Art Manuscript Series; Lilydale: Mannagum Press, 1990) 354 at 108.

[180] Source: Melbourne Savage Club minute book. 1894-1902

[181] Ann Curthoys, Julianne Schultz, and Richard Nile (eds.), *Journalism: Print, Politics and Popular Culture* (Uqp Australian Studies., St Lucia, Qld.: University of Queensland Press, 1999) 331 p. at 78.

Randolph was 'a generously overflowing beer tankard of a man'[182] and Will Dyson and his other admirers referred to him as 'Crandolph' or 'Randolph the Reckness', nicknames which captured his expansive bigness and infectious exuberance.[183] Not long after that, on 28th February 1900, the *Bulletin*'s Melbourne cartoonist, Alf Vincent, was to join the MSC and was instrumental in a major change to its ethos.

Figure 6 *Bedford* by Low.
Source: Melbourne Savages p. 134

As authors and artists, Bedford and Vincent were not content to be treated on a different basis to the musicians and actors, and two months after Vincent joined the MSC, at a Special General Meeting, on the 24th April 1900, the club resolved to vary Rule 6. *'to admit 'landscape or portrait painters and sculptors without entrance fee.'* At another Special General Meeting, on the twenty-ninth May 1900, Rule 6 was again altered to admit:

> recognised members of the musical, dramatic and artistic professions and sculptors without payment of entrance fee.[184]

The latter amendment immediately cleared the way for painters, sculptors and illustrators to join the club and during the next twelve months some of Australia's best known painters joined including John Longstaff, Walter Withers, Hugh Paterson, Fred McCubbin, John Mather, Alexander Colquhoun, Blamire Young, J. Ford Paterson, James Quinn and Tom Roberts. With the above prominent artists joining, the MSC had provided the first seven presidents of the Victorian Artists Society (VAS)[185] and had now become 'the Club of the Arts'[186].

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[182] McMullin, R, *WILL DYSON Cartoonist, Etcher and Australia's finest War Artist* (Angus & Robertson, 1984). p. 16

[183] *ibid* p. 17

[184] Source: Melbourne Savage Club minute book. 1894-1902

[185] These were Joseph A. Panton(1988), John Mather(1993), John Ford Paterson(1902), Frederick McCubbin(1903), Walter Withers(1905), John Mather(1906 & Frederick McCubbin(1909).

[186] This is the author's description.

Concluding Comments

The 1890s, when the MSC was formed, was a period in Australian cultural history when everything seemed open to question across a range of concerns – in political theory, literature, religion, and relations between men and women. Furthermore, Docker argues that the Australian bushman, whom the radical nationalists were idealising, did not extend sympathy to non-mates, non-brothers or non-whites and was largely responsible for the development in Australian society of some of its most objectionable features – racism, xenophobia and support for White Australia.[187]

This is important because many of the early artist members of the MSC were employed as illustrators with the *Bulletin* and *Melbourne Punch* and they shared the attitudes of chauvinism, sexism, exclusionary racism and nationalism promoted by these publications and included them in elements of artwork prepared for club events. Jules François Archibald's establishment of *The Bulletin* in Sydney on 31st January 1880 encouraged a new nationalistic spirit in Australia, albeit tainted by radicalism and xenophobia with its masthead slogan, "*Australia for the White Man*". Under its literary editor, Alfred Stephens, it featured the popular writers and poets; Henry Lawson, Banjo Paterson and Miles Franklin, cartoonists; Livingston Hopkins ("Hop"), David Low and Phil May; and illustrator and novelist, Norman Lindsay, and soon became known as the "*Bushman's Bible*" in Australia's then male-dominated frontier. In Brennan's *Savage Jubilee: A Glimpse of the Nineties*, he describes the Bulletin School as 'the literature of adversity, written by men in adversity'.[188]

This Australian nationalism was also emerging in the visual arts and manifested itself in Melbourne with the Heidelberg School of impressionist painters and their artist clubs and societies, and despite the depression which followed the Victorian Land Boom of the 1880s, there was a great energy in the performing arts and music. Contributions from these artists formed the genesis of the Savage collection.

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[187] Docker 1991 *op cit*

[188] Brennan, '*Savage Jubilee - a Glimpse of the Nineties*', at 35.

CHAPTER IV THE CLUB MAKES ITS MARK (1900 – 1923)

Introduction

Bohemianism and colonialism shared certain forms of marginality, linked to an adventurous spirit, in which the individual steps outside the traditional and prevailing order of life in order to achieve specific ends. Common to both is independence and a degree of abandonment from the supportive structures of established society.

The artists who joined the MSC however were no longer the marginal bohemians who made their own fun with the Buonarotti, Ishmael and Cannibal Clubs. Many were prominent members of society who were to play a major part in the recording of events in the fledgling nation, of which Melbourne was the capital until 1927.[189]

In the early nineteenth century, a great many of the artists who joined the MSC had their studios within the city and walking distance of the Club and Charles Wheeler was one of a number who made their way there for lunch.

Early lodgings

At the outset, the Club aspired to humble beginnings as the first few dozen bohemians resolved to pay an affordable subscription of one guinea per year. Fortunately, membership swelled to one hundred within months and, by year's end, the Roll showed 219 members allowing them to rent space at sixty-five pounds per annum on the top floor of 'the Block' in Elizabeth Street and invest £440 in furnishings acquired on a time payment plan from one of their members, a partner of Robertson and Moffatt.[190]. The space was fitted out with a Social Room, Billiard Room, Committee Room, Bar and store.

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[189] Examples of this are *The Opening of the First Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, May 9, 1901, by H.R.H. The Duke of Cornwall and Yo*rk, Exhibition Building ('*The Big Picture*') by Tom Roberts, 1903, *The Opening of Federal Parliament 9 May, 1901,* by Charles Nuttall, 1901-02 and *Princes Bridge,* Frederick McCubbin, 1908.

[190] The established furniture firm of Robertson and Moffatt supplied all the furnishings of the Club. It boasted as being the largest showrooms in the colony and was sold to Sydney Myer in 1922.

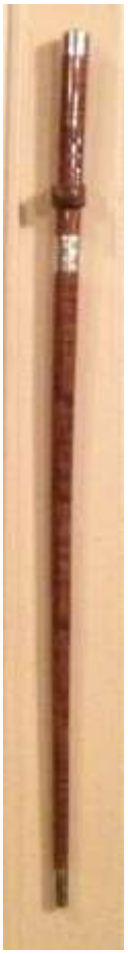
At the turn of the century, the Club moved to larger premises on the top floor of the Victoria Building in Queen's Walk (Fig 7) and member William Gill designed more tasteful decor as befitting what had by now evolved into a gentlemen's club. This move coincided with the influx of artists into the Club and the Donations Book for the early twentieth century records the generosity of this large group of talent.

Figure 7 ***Savage Club*** **– Albert Henry Fullwood 1920**
This painting shows the entrance of the Victoria Building in Queens Walk.
Painting purchased from his granddaughter by member's donation in 1982.
This painting is on display in 'The Third World Bar'

The performers

As would be expected, the Club was very active in the performing arts from the outset and first bought a modest upright piano before replacing it in 1897 with a concert grand by Vogel which cost £70. A good general library with periodicals was established, but the club's speciality was a comprehensive music library.[191]

[191] Judith Raphael Buckrich, Keith Dunstan, and Rohan Storey, *Collins: The Story of Australia's Premier Street* (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2005) 1 v.



Shortly after the foundation of the Club, the first of hundreds of smoke nights was organised for the 28th of July 1894 featuring the twenty year old violinist Alberto Zelman Jnr.[192] Zelman was described in the Club's first history as 'an ideal Savage'[193] with an entire chapter devoted to him. He epitomised what constituted the spirit of the Club, with wit, humour, good fellowship and a generosity in donating his considerable musical talents.

Later to become the Club's most distinguished musician, Zelman went on to found and conduct the Melbourne Symphony Orchestra (MSO) and he was so talented that not only could he play and teach every instrument in the orchestra without ever having a lesson, but on one occasion, when conducting *Lohengrin* he sang the tenor part himself when the tenor took sick. In 1922 he also toured Europe, conducting both the London Symphony and the Berlin Philharmonic.

Figure 8 **Baton of Alberto Zelman Jnr**
Wall-mounted on the stage in the Social Room

Alberto Zelman was always generous in giving his time to the Club and would conduct the Club Orchestra, play the violin or piano or act in a Club dramatic production. He was elected a Vice-President of the Club in 1926 and, on his death in 1927, the MSC erected an eternal lamp of remembrance in his honour above the stage inscribed 'Alberto Zelman, his light abides'.

His conductor's baton[194] is mounted next to the stage (Fig. 8).

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[192] Samuel Victor Albert (Alberto) Zelman Jnr, (1874-1927), conductor, violinist and teacher, later formed the Melbourne String Quartette (1905), the Melbourne Symphony Orchestra (1906) and the British Music Society Quartette (1918). Choirmaster of the Independent Church, Collins Street, he was also conductor of the Royal Melbourne Philharmonic Society (1911-27), for which his own orchestra played. He founded the Orchestral League in 1922 and was at various times a member of the executives of the Musical Society of Victoria, the British Music Society and the Melbourne Savage Club.

[193] David M Dow, *Melbourne Savages, a History of the First Fifty Years of the Melbourne Savage Club* (Melbourne: Melbourne Savage Club, 1947) 252 at 91-95.

[194] Zelman's conductor's baton, was presented to him by the Club in 1921 and was carved from a branch of the first English Oak planted at Sydney Cove by Governor Arthur Phillip in 1788. (refer Figure 8).

The immediate impact of the Artists

The decision of the MSC 'to admit landscape or portrait painters and sculptors without entrance fee'[195] ensured that applications from impecunious artists would be strong and it was indeed not long before they made a substantial presence in the still fledgling club which hitherto had been primarily focussed around the performing arts.

Virtually every significant Melbourne-based (male) Australian artist was to join the MSC in the early years, including the 'Heidelberg School'[196] painters, Roberts, Streeton, Withers and McCubbin[197] and within the Club's collection there are many fine works by them and others, such as Fullwood, Heyson, Herbert and Rowell. Although neither Heyson nor Fullwood were MSC members themselves, they were closely associated with the MSC artists through the *plein air* movement.

Figure 9 *Boy flying a kite*– Frederick McCubbin 1909
Courtesy: Melbourne Savage Club and National Gallery of Australia
This picture hangs in the Social Room

[195] Refer to the minutes of the Melbourne Savage Club, Extra Ordinary General Meeting on 24th April 1900.

[196] The term 'Heidelberg School' was coined by American art critic, Sidney Dickenson in an article, 'Two Exhibitions of Paintings', reviewing the works of Arthur Streeton and Walter Withers. It was first used in an article, 'Two Exhibitions of Paintings', reviewing the works of Arthur Streeton and Walter Withers, which appeared in the *Australasian Critic*, 1 July 1891, p. 240

[197] *Heidelberg School* artist, Charles Conder, was to return to Europe prior to the formation of the Club.

These donations by the painters Walter Withers, Edward Fraser and Fred McCubbin augmented other pictures given by the 'Black and White'(B&W) artists. Numerous original drawings prepared for 'Smoke Concerts' were presented by the artists responsible and the MSC Donations Book records concert programmes prepared by Charles Nuttall, Hugh Paterson, Harry Recknell, John Ford Paterson, George Dancey and the prolific Alf Vincent.

There was great fellowship between the B&W artists and the painters, and the menus and programmes on the walls were executed by both parties. They also were not averse to caricaturing each other. The illustration to the left of McCubbin by Low (Fig. 10) is typical of the many caricatures that remain in the collection from this time.

Fred McCubbin is one of Australia's most highly regarded artists through his connection with the *Heidelberg School* and he contributed many works the Club's collection.[198]

Figure 10 *Frederick McCubbin* by Low
This caricature of McCubbin hangs at the base of the Main Stairway

Other works recorded as being donated when the Club was at Queen's Walk included artefacts, a Dyak skull[199] and an original 'artist proof' etching of *The Waltz* by Anders Zorn. The Zorn was given by a founding member of the firm Robertson and Moffat[200], who was grateful that the Club had used his firm to furnish their new Clubrooms. It was no coincidence that W.H. Gill, who later

[198] Refer in particular to the landscape shown in figure 9, *Boy Flying a Kite, 1909,* which has been loaned for major exhibitions and is shown in the following catalogues: Bridget Whitelaw, Frederick Mccubbin, and National Gallery of Victoria., 'The Art of Frederick Mccubbin', (Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria, 1991) at 95. and Anne Gray and National Gallery of Australia., *Mccubbin : Last Impressions 1907-17* (1st edn.; Parkes, A.C.T.: National Gallery of Australia, 2009) 1 v. at 32.

[199] The (alleged) Dyak skull was presented by a Mr Warburton, an officer in the Eastern extension Cable service, on duty at the Cocos Island. It was reported as salvage from the German raider, Embden.

[200] Robertson and Moffat as well as a furnishing business dealt in original etchings and photogravures. The firm was later sold to Sidney Myer.

founded the Fine Art Society Gallery in Collins Street (1918-1940), was at the time in charge of the Art and Antiques Gallery within the Robertson and Moffat furnishing house.

The artist David Low was a B&W artist who played a large part in activities of the Club during the four years that he was resident Melbourne cartoonist for *The Bulletin.* His favourite pastime was drawing caricatures of the wartime Prime Minister 'Billy' Hughes. Low reports in his autobiography that a large part of his time in Australia was spent 'in comment about Hughes' personality and his doings,'[201] which ultimately culminated in Low's publication of *The Billy Book*,[202] a comic account of Hughes travels to and around Europe. There is also an excellent series of caricatures of Hughes in the MSC Clubhouse along with other caricatures[203] like the one of McCubbin (Fig. 10) amongst the many menu covers lampooning fellow members.

Before Low joined the MSC, he was already well known through his work as a political cartoonist at *The Bulletin* in Sydney working alongside Norman Lindsay. When asked to move to Melbourne to replace Alf Vincent at *The Bulletin,* he was encouraged to join the other B&W artists as a member of the MSC where he was soon to become an enthusiastic contributor.[204] Low, whilst unpopular with Hughes who he constantly ridiculed, had some close friends in Melbourne, including the Savage caricaturist Hal Gye and the poet C. J. Dennis,[205] both of whom he shared a city studio with at various stages. Whilst a member of the MSC, Low was invited to go to London where he achieved fame as a cartoonist utilising valuable contacts made as a member of the LSC.

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[201] Low devotes a whole chapter in his autobiography talking of his relationship with Hughes. David Low, *Low's Autobiography* (London: Michael Joseph, 1956) 387 at 62-74.

[202] David Low, *The Billy Book: Hughes Abroad* (Sydney: N.S.W. Bookstall, 1918) [40] p. of ill.

[203] See also caricature of Bedford (figure 5, Chapter III)

[204]The Club has a debt of gratitude to *The Bulletin* Black and White artists, all of whom are represented in the Savage collection. MSC artist members Alf Vincent, David Low and Will Dyson in particular are well represented in the Club collection of menu covers.

[205] Hal Gye used to illustrate Dennis's books, including *The Sentimental Bloke*.

Low received a knighthood in 1962 and when he died the following year, his obituary in *The Guardian* described him as 'the dominant cartoonist of the western world'.

The photo to the left (Fig. 11) shows the grandfather clock, donated by members when MSC secretary Reg Verdon died in 1901.[206] Although there does not appear to be any documentation supporting its claimed provenance arising from the Imperial Palace in Beijing, it is most distinctive as it is set within an elaborate woodcarving created by MSC artist, Blamire Young and his talented woodcarver wife, Mabel.

Figure 11 Grandfather Clock
The picture shows the surround carving done by Blamire and Mabel Young. The clock is situated in the Club's Social Room.

The Black & White Collection

Unquestionably the greatest impact on providing the genesis for a unique collection was to be made by the B&W artists who illustrated the concert and dinner menus which now still adorn the walls of the Clubhouse. They were exponents of the art of mischief-making, creators of humorous works grounded in satire and accomplished at the use of the double entendre. Though working as cartoonists for the various newspapers, they made a strong impact on the Club's identity.

Apart from such publications as *The Bulletin* and *Melbourne Punch*, a number of writers and artists who were later to join the MSC had been heavily involved in the short-lived Melbourne newspaper, *Free Lance*, which ran from 23 April

[206] Refer *Donation Book of the Melbourne Savage Club*

to 17 October 1897, modelled itself on *The Bulletin*, and was proud of its claim of being 'a white paper for a white people'.

Free Lance leant strongly towards the arts, with cartoons by both Norman and Lionel Lindsay on political issues and articles by bohemian writers such as Ted Dyson and Randolph Bedford[207], plus a regular gossip column '*In Bohemia*', headed by a drawing of three gentlemen in dinner suits. It was part of the tradition of Australian 'larrikin' journalism with a definite Fabian line – supporting women's suffrage and divorce law reform and critical of the theft of Aboriginal lands, the death penalty and the jingo capitalism of Cecil Rhodes.[208] Du Maurier's popular novel on artistic bohemia in Paris, *Trilby*, which was the subject of a stage play in Melbourne, was reviewed enthusiastically by the artists and writers of *Free Lance* and was paralleled by their lives in Melbourne, an authentic Australian artistic bohemia recorded in the pages of *Free Lance.*

These former bohemians were to engage enthusiastically in the life of the Club. The MSC is renowned for its collection of satirical posters and menu covers prepared for concerts and 'Smoke Nights' which, almost without exception, were prepared by Club members and represent a rare social record of the times in their depiction of contemporary events. Savages, over the years, employed as cartoonists for *The Bulletin* and *Melbourne Punch*, included David Low, Will Dyson, Len Reynolds, Alf Vincent, Percy Leason, George Dancey, Hal Gye and Jim Bancks. Other cartoonists to be found in the Savage collection were Normal Lindsay, Alex Sass, Cecil (Unk) White, Livingston Hopkins (Hop) and Phil May, some of whom were made honorary members of the YC.[209]

The content of both *The Bulletin* and *Melbourne Punch* often reflected the then popular contemporary values of nationalism and racism (White Australia policy) prevalent in society in the early twentieth century. This involvement by the

[207] Both Dyson and Bedford were to join the MSC. Lionel Lindsay was a member of the YC.

[208] Joanna Mendelssohn, *Lionel Lindsay: An Artist and His Family* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1988) xviii, 254 p., [16] p. of plates at 67.

[209] Vane Lindesay, *Drawing from Life. A History of the Black and White Artists Club* (first edn.; Sydney: The State Library of New South Wales Press, 1994) at 57. The YC honorary members book shows that both Phil May and Hop were both honorary members of the Yorick Club.

leading cartoonists of the day contributes to the social and historic significance of the works in the context of the prevailing attitudes of Melbourne society standing as an example of a collection of early twentieth century artists in this genre.

Although racism at the time was largely directed at the Chinese, and sometimes the Jews[210] in the case of the popular newspapers, indigenous Australians were often represented in MSC works by use of the double entendre in the depiction of the noble savage as a play on the name of the Club[211].

In the period 1890-1945, it was orthodox opinion that humankind was divided into a number of distinct 'races' and an influential figure of the late nineteenth century, C. H. Pearson, a one-time minister of education in Victoria, argued in *National Life and Character* that the world was witnessing a struggle between the 'higher races of men' and the 'lower'.[212] Alfred Deakin[213] argued that the most powerful force impelling the colonies towards federation had been the desire 'that we should be one people and remain one people without the admixture of other races'.[214]

In general, 'White Australia' was a doctrine full of affirmative values, offering much more than a rejection of other peoples often representing the ethical aspirations of individual racists, contributing to their personal esteem. By exulting the white man, Australian males promoted a desirable social type which individuals could emulate.[215]

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[210] The YC was the home of Theodore Fink, Chairman of the Herald Group and art patron. Fink was the youngest person to join the YC when he joined in 1879..

[211] The Melbourne Savage Club takes its name from the London Savage Club on which it is modelled. The London Savage Club was named after an eighteenth century poet, Richard Savage.

[212] Pearson, *National Life and Character: A Forecast*. pp. 13-85

[213] Alfred Deakin was Australia's second Prime Minister and served as Prime Minister from 1903-4, 1905-8 and, 1909-110

[214] Cited by Markus in: Andrew Markus and M. C. Ricklefs (eds.), *Surrender Australia? Essays in the Study and Uses of History: Geoffrey Blainey and Asian Immigration* (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1985) viii, 149 p. p.11

[215] Humphrey Mcqueen, *A New Britannia: An Argument Concerning the Social Origins of Australian Radicalism and Nationalism* (4th 2004 edn.; St Lucia, Qld.: University of Queensland Press, 1970) viii, 326 p. at 268. p. 278

The menu illustration on the following page (Fig. 12), prepared by *Bulletin* artist Alf Vincent, is a typical programme cover prepared for a Club 'Smoke Concert' of the early twentieth century. The drawing refers to a visit to Melbourne of sixteen U.S. Navy battleships of the Atlantic Fleet (The Great White Fleet) between 29th August and 5th September 1908, at the invitation of Alfred Deakin, whilst on the third leg of their worldwide goodwill voyage. (A more conventional poster printed for the occasion appears on the following image (Fig. 13).)

Typical of works in the collection, in the afore-mentioned cartoon, the MSC parodies itself as 'the noble savage' and similarly utilises the myth of George Washington and the cherry tree to light-heartedly represent the American visitors.[216] Although Smith suggests that the eighteenth century representation of the black 'noble savage' of Rousseau was replaced with a white one in the nineteenth century (the noble frontiersman), this was never the approach of the MSC artists who saw their cartoons of 'Savages' as representations of themselves and their fellow members calling on the double entendre of Richard Savage's surname and the then current dictionary definition of 'savage'. [217] This was also a practice in other Savage Clubs around the World, with the Bristol Savages (UK) utilising an image of the American Indian, the various New Zealand Savage Clubs adopting a Maori, and the Sydney Savages initially adopting an Australian Aborigine.[218]

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[216] The Minute book of the MSC of 14th August 1908 (Special Committee Meeting) records a letter saying that Admiral Sperring had accepted the Club's invitation for twenty officers of the American Fleet ('The Great White Fleet') to attend the Club's concert on 3rd September 1908. A further minute, of the meeting of 16th September 1908, records a 'Chinese dog' donated by Cptn. R. Percy Crandale of United States Navy, presuming that it had been gifted by the medical officer of the Georgia who had been present at the dinner. (MSC Archives).

It is assumed that reference in the minutes to Admiral Speering, actually refers to Rear Admiral Charles S. Sperring, commander of the Fleet, First Squadron, and First Division and that reference to Captain R. Percy Crandale actually refers to Fleet Surgeon, Dr. R. Percy Crandall.

[217] Bernard Smith, Terry Smith, and Christopher Heathcote, *Australian Painting, 1788-2000* (4th edn.; South Melbourne, Vic.: Oxford University Press, 2001) xi, 630 p. at 28.

[218] Sydney has now dropped this practice.

As can be seen from figure 12 below, the MSC would often depict the 'Savage' as a Polynesian or Melanesian, rather than as an indigenous Australian, as is borne out from the coconut palms in the cartoon, however whatever representation the MSC artists adopted for the Club menus, it was always as a warrior or hunter in traditional costume. This contrasts with caricatures that the same artists may have done at the time in *The Bulletin* or similar publications, where aboriginal persons were often represented as tragic figures dressed in white man's rags, or made fun of with breast plates conferring European titles to a dispossessed people (e.g. King Billy).

Figure 12 ***99th Smoke Concert*** **- Alf Vincent 1908**
Collection: Melbourne Savage Club (Main Dining Room)

Figure 13 ***Australia Welcomes the Fleets*** **1908**
An Australian postcard welcoming the American 'Great White Fleet' to Australia.
Tye & Co. Prop. Ltd. House Furnishers

Another such item entering the collection at this time and the subject of myth is the famous 'Foo Dog' (Fig. 14). This is most likely the 'Chinese Dog' referred to previously in the Club minutes of 16th September 1908 and in the centennial history of the Club as being donated by one of the officers of the Great White Fleet, however the first history of the Club, *Melbourne Savages,* has a different version of events. It claims that the Club secretary in fact received the china dog in a box the morning after the reception for the Great White Fleet, with a card inscribed: 'This animal followed Jim to Port Melbourne last night. Better lock him up. (signed) Mary Toot.' The fact was that the dog was a gift of an American-born member of the Club, a Dr. Ebden C. Gould, who purchased the porcelain piece during a visit to China.[219]

Figure 14 Foo Dog
The 'Foo Dog' which is located on the mantlepiece in the Club Social Room.

Historic Photographs

The following two images (Figs 15 and 16) record another event at the MSC that year, namely a visit to Melbourne in 1908 of a party of Fijian cricketers under Ratu Kadavu Levu. The visit was organised by MSC Vice-President, J. H. Marsden and Savage members played a match against them at the East Melbourne Cricket Ground, then entertained the visitors that evening at a Smoke Night' at which the Fijians sang national songs and performed the meke wau dance. A Yagona ceremony involving the mixing of the Yagona Root drink was also conducted.

As 'souvenirs' of past events, these photographs are amongst many recording the early days of the MSC and events occurring in Melbourne at the time. Although, obviously when first displayed in the MSC clubhouse, they provided

[219] Dow, *Melbourne Savages, a History of the First Fifty Years of the Melbourne Savage Club*.at pp. 86,87

a record of past events that members could still remember but not relive, now they are just as important to the current membership, over a century hence, as an authentication of the past and a verification of the Club's many myths.

Figure 15 The Fijian cricket team with the Savage Club Vice-President
Source: Photograpic collection of the Melbourne Savage Club (photographer unknown)

Figure 16 Fijian cricketers being entertained at the Melbourne Savage Club
Source: Photograpic collection of the Melbourne Savage Club (photographer unknown)

In addition to the above pictorial records of events held in the Club, the MSC has a modest collection of photographs, both donated to the Club and by prominent MSC photographers. They include a series of twelve portraits by well-known Melbourne photographer, Jack Cato[220], of MSC artists taken in their own studios and a collection of rare historic photographs of indigenous Australians by eminent anthropologist, Prof. Sir Walter Baldwin Spencer[221].

These late nineteenth and early twentieth century photographs of indigenous Australians within the collection are significant in the context of the prevailing attitudes towards Aborigines in the latter half of the nineteenth century of nostalgia – 'nostalgia for a dying race.'[222] Photographers, artists, ethnologists and historians recorded in detail what for them was the inevitable decline and demise of the aboriginal people. The MSC has a fine example of these records, which, at the time of entry into the collection, reinforced the double entendre of 'the Noble Savage' adopted by the Black and White artists.

The lure of Europe and the First World War

Not all Savage artists however were to remain in Melbourne in the years immediately after Federation. The painters made an exodus to London and Paris seeking to extend their training and pursue opportunities in these cultural capitals. Whilst there, they tended to band together and formed a strong community of Australian colonials, with London's art clubs such as the London Arts Club (1856), the London Savage Club (1857) and the Chelsea Arts Club (1891) forming a focus for their activities. Arthur Fullwood, James Quinn, Tom Roberts, Arthur Streeton and others were active at the Chelsea Arts Club,

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220 Refer letter to Melbourne Savage Club dated 22 August 1938 from Jack Cato, F.R.P.S. donating a dozen 20" x 16" enlargements of Artists who are or have been Savages. The artists included George Bell, Cyril Dillon, Will Dyson, Sir John Longstaff, Louis McCubbin OBE, William McInnes, Laurence Pendlebury, William Rowell, Sir Arthur Streeton, Napier Waller, Charles Wheeler OBE DCM and Blamire Young.

221 The MSC Donation Book records that Arthur Holroyd presented a group of photographs of indigenous Australians. These were most likely the works of Prof. Sir Baldwin Spencer, who was a close friend of many at the club.

222 Hubber, 2001 Brian Hubber, Graham Baring, and Geelong Gallery., 'All That Glitters: Australian Colonial Gold and Silver from the Vizard Foundation', (Geelong, Vic.: Geelong Gallery, 2001), 83 p. at 28

with Roberts and Streeton both serving on the Committee and Roberts elected Vice-President in 1906.[223]

Roberts was also active in the LSC and, since 1905, he had instigated annual dinners of Australian artists in London[224]. These proved popular and the Australian Artists' Dinner in November 1908, with MacKennal in the Chair, attracted twenty-five expatriates including Savage regulars, Roberts, Streeton, Quinn and Longstaff.[225]

Frederick McCubbin ventured to London at this time, and on his first and only visit in 1906, he wrote:

> I went yesterday with Fullwood, George Coates and Tom Roberts for a ramble' … 'Tonight I am dining with the Australian Artists in Soho, and there I shall meet all my old friends. How glad I am! Longstaff will be there and Frank Stuart[226], Roberts, Fullwood, Panton, Coates, Quinn, Tucker's brother, and many others from all around.[227]

Many of these Savage artists were still in London and Europe at the outbreak of the Great War and they patriotically responded to the cause, distinguishing themselves both as soldiers and as some of the Empire's most distinguished war artists. In fact, when an officer walked into the Chelsea Arts Club to recruit volunteers for military hospitals, some twenty-five artists joined up, including Savage artists Tom Roberts and George Coates who both began as orderlies at

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[223] *Melbourne, State Library of Victoria, Croll Papers, ca. 1860-1947. [manuscript].* Also cited in *Melbourne, State Library of Victoria, Croll Papers, ca. 1860-1947. [manuscript]. , Robert Henderson Croll, Tom Roberts: Father of Australian Landscape Painting (Melbourne: Robertson & Mullens, 1935) 231 p., [10] leaves of plates at 95.*

[224] Moore, *The Story of Australian Art from the Earliest Known Art of the Continent to the Art of Today* at 9.

[225] *Humphrey Mcqueen, Tom Roberts (Sydney: Macmillan, 1996) 784 p. at 532.*

[226] Frank Stuart was possibly MSC member, The Hon Francis Stuart MLC, patron of the arts and the person who funded sculptor Bernard McKennall's move to Paris.

[227] James S. Macdonald, Frederick Mccubbin, and Alexander Mccubbin, *The Art of F. Mccubbin* (Brisbane: Boolarong, 1986) 97 p., [45] leaves of plates at 73.

Savage artists who subscribed to 'The Art of Frederick McCubbin' included Arthur Streeton, Walter Withers, Tom Roberts, Hugh McCubbin. In addition, the Melbourne Savage Club subscribed along with Savage art patron, Dr S A Ewing, a major benefactor to the University of Melbourne.

3rd London General Hospital at Wandsworth[228] working alongside their friend Henry Fullwood.[229]

A number of artists visiting London at this time became official war artists and, when the Australian High Commission in London consulted the official war historian Charles Bean to appoint the ten artists, amongst those that he recommended half were either Savages or Yorickers.[230] The selected artists received appointments as commissioned officers for three months and were expected to produce at least 25 drawings during this time.

Another scheme involved artists already serving with the Australian Imperial Force (AIF) who were similarly selected by Bean to be attached to the Australian War Records Section. Of the six official war artists selected, George Benson, Frank Crozier, Louis McCubbin and James MacDonald[231] were Savages.

Generally, the Australian artists in London at the outbreak of war volunteered their services in one capacity or another, with the older ones, such as Roberts, taking on non-combat roles in the UK. Typical of these was another Savage artist, Blamire Young, who joined the British army in 1915 as an instructor in musketry. His work in the army involved providing landscape models for use on miniature ranges, and his book used water colours to illustrate the various stages needed to produce the models. In 1917 he completed a book called *Landscape & Target Practises for Miniature Rifle Shooting and Illustrations, Lectures and Hints*.

Enlistment was strong back in Australia and the MSC was no exception. Both the MSC members and other organisations did what they could to support their serving members and the artists and musicians of the Club were at the forefront

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[228] The Wandsworth Hospital's 'Gazette' included illustrations, many done by Coates, Roberts and Fullwood. Moore, *The Story of Australian Art from the Earliest Known Art of the Continent to the Art of Today* at 586.

[229] *Mcqueen, Tom Roberts at 581.*

[230] George Bell, Will Dyson, John Longstaff, James Quinn and Arthur Streeton.

[231] J. S. MacDonald, who had been wounded at Gallipoli was unable to take up his appointment.

in organising art exhibitions, concerts and other activities to raise monies for those at the front. The war charity business was huge; Fred McCubbin painted decorative images on gum leaves and Savage B&W artists, Charles Nuttall, Hal Gye and David Low all signed autograph books.[232]

Throughout the War, in which so many Savages contributed, the MSC despatched food hampers to their *Brother Savages* at the front. These were greatly appreciated and the Club's archives contain grateful letters in response from Europe and the Middle East, including those from artists, James S. Macdonald and George Benson, containing graphic descriptions and illustrations of the landing at Gallipoli.

One of the first Australian soldiers to reach the Dardanelles was George Benson. Benson who was training in Alexandra when Command realised his skills as a draftsman and illustrator, promoted him to Bombardier and despatched him on the cruiser "Queen" to make sketches of possible landing sites on the Western Coast of Gallipoli.

In a letter in the Club archives by Benson, written from Gallipoli on the 4th July 1915, he describes these events and tells of other 'Savages' involved in the landing. The graphic yet humorous four-page letter is illustrated by Benson; the sketch opposite (Fig. 17) of a Turkish soldier is one of these illustrations.[233]

Figure 17 ***Turkish Soldier*** **- Benson**
Melbourne Savage Club archives

[232] Kristin Otto, *Capital: Melbourne When It Was the Capital City of Australia 1901-27* (Melbourne: Text Publishing Company, 2009) [ix], 388 p. at 170.

[233] George Benson, '*Gallipoli Letter from the Front'*, in Melbourne Savage Club. (ed.), (Gallipoli, 1914), 4. Also in the Australian War Memorial is "*The Evacuation of ANZAC*" by W.B. McInnes.

Benson later painted a panoramic view of Gallipoli from Walker's Ridge. Although the work was done in London, it was based on sketches and observations during warfare, from which you could pick out such historic spots as Lone Pine, Monash Gully, Achi Baba and Gaba Tape. The painting is in the collection of the Australian War Memorial.[234]

Also in the Australian War Memorial is "The Evacuation of ANZAC" by another Savage artist, William Beckworth McInnes, the winner of the first Archibald Prize. Both Benson and McInnes were amongst many Savage artists who got together to contribute drawings, articles and verse for "The Anzac Book" published by celebrated war correspondent Charles Bean in 1916, a famous publication which sold over 100,000 copies.

In August 1916, at much the same time as the British employed their first War Artist, Will Dyson[235] applied to the Australian High Commission to sketch the AIF in France. Although he was not officially employed as an official war artist until May 1917, in December 1916 Dyson met the war correspondent Charles W. Bean and was soon to accompany him to the Western Front, enlisting his young brother-in-law Daryl Lindsay[236] as his batman.

Another journalist in the group with Bean and Dyson was Keith Murdoch (later Sir Keith Murdoch), already a member of the MSC since 1910 and a person who had the respect of the Prime Minister of Australia, William Morris Hughes.[237] Although not on the same page politically, Dyson and Murdoch were to develop a great friendship through the war and Dyson, along with Daryl Lindsay, was more than happy to join Murdoch's Club when he returned from Europe. There are a number of his most well-known war images on the MSC

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[234] Moore, *The Story of Australian Art from the Earliest Known Art of the Continent to the Art of Today* at 47.

[235] Dyson was arguably the best known Australian in England before the war and Walker cites a Times reviewer as describing Dyson as 'the best of living English (*sic*) cartoonists'. Tony Walker and Peter Sekuless, '*Through Anzac Eyes: The Australian War Correspondent as Mythmaker and Truthteller*', (Washington, 2008), 193 at 41.

[236] Daryl, later Sir Daryl Lindsay, was to replace J. S. MacDonald as the Director of the NGV

[237] Hughes was also to later join the MSC.

walls to this day, in addition to the Smoke Concert menus contributed by both artists.

After the War, the Society of Australian Artists and the Royal British Colonial Society of Artists arranged a show at Burlington House, London titled 'War and Peace'. The show which opened on 26 November 1918, featured over 700 works including works by official war artists, Savages Longstaff, Dyson, Quinn and Streeton and two works submitted by Roberts.[238]

On their return to Melbourne after the First World War, Savage artists naturally were keen to re-engage with the Club that had supported them and contributed paintings and etchings to the Club's collection including those by Dyson (Fig. 18) and Streeton (Fig. 19).

Figure 18 ***I think I hear men marching*** **– Will Dyson 1920**
Collection of the Melbourne Savage Club (presented by Cyril Dillon)
(This is one of three war pictures by Dyson in the Club collection)

[238] Mcqueen, *Tom Roberts* at 597.

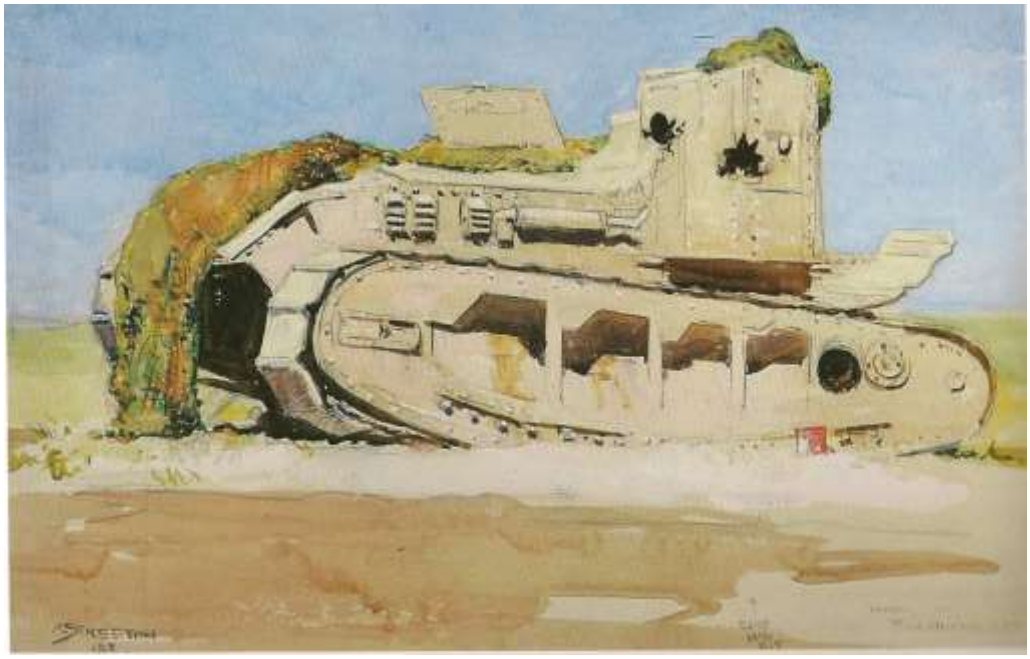

Figure 19 ***Tank at Poulainville*** **– Arthur Streeton 1918**
Collection of the Melbourne Savage Club
(This is one of two Streeton war pictures which hang in the Entry Foyer)

Concluding comments

The first two decades of the nineteenth century reflected a period when the Club was extremely active in both the visual and performing arts and it attracted the leading artists and musicians of the day to its ranks. It had both an Art Committee and a Music Director, and its regular concerts and 'Smoke Nights' were a feature of the Club. It was during this time that the nucleus of the Club's large 'B&W' collection was developed and it was the period during which the Club's culture was established.

CHAPTER V A PERMANENT HOME (1925-35)

Introduction - Premises worthy of the Club

The initial MSC collection and the development of its identity as an 'arts' club occurred whilst the Club was a tenant in various premises around Melbourne, none of which the Club could truly call home or be free to renovate to reflect its distinctive culture.

In 1923, the Club was able, at last, to set up a permanent home at no risk to its financial position by purchasing a three story office building from one of its members, Sir Rupert Clarke Bt[239]. The purchase was financed by an arrangement wherein Club member Willie Dickenson guaranteed the purchase price of £15,000 and a syndicate formed of Club members would purchase shares and then lease the property back to the Club[240]. In the end, 113 members took up shares, many of whom presented these shares back to the Club.

The building is in the Italian Renaissance Revival mode and was designed by prominent architects A. L. Smith and A. E. Johnson[241] for the Imperial Insurance Company and its heritage citation describes the exterior façade as a significant surviving example of a city (London) townhouse.[242] At the time of purchase the building was occupied as offices on the Ground and First Floors with the Second (top) Floor having been converted, so Club legend has it, by Sir Rupert to a townhouse for his mistress. The Basement level, which was accessed separately from Bank Place by external stairs, was used as a electrician's store and was not used by the MSC for a number of years.

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[239] Sir Rupert Turner Havelock Clark, 2nd Baronet (1865–1926), 2nd Baronet of Rupertswood, pastoralist and entrepreneur, Member of Parliament and company director, had purchased the building in 1913 and had previously occupied the building since 1910.

[240] The agreement was reached at a Special General Meeting of the Club held in August 1923.

[241] Johnson designed the GPO and together he and Smith designed the Supreme Court building.

[242] Victorian Heritage Register (VHR) Number H0025 refers.

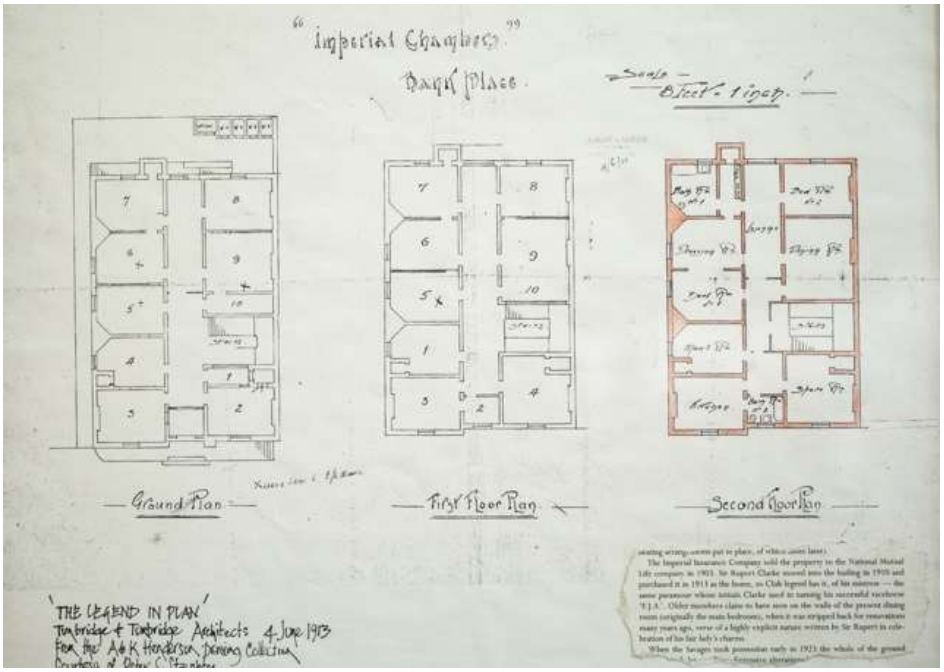

Figure 20 **Plan of Imperial Chambers –** Sketch by Peter Staughton[243], Architect
This sketch is mounted in the Third World Bar

In its original configuration (see Fig. 20), the Club needed extensive renovations to fit its new use and entrusted the major structural part of the project, including installation of a lift, to architect members J. J. Meagher[244] and Percy Meldrum.[245] The Social Room, a major feature of the Club interior, however was entrusted to prominent Melbourne architect Kingsley Henderson (1883-1942) who had just joined the Club the previous year. Kingsley Henderson undertook the project on an honorary basis however the cost of the alterations to the Ground Floor, at £5,000, was still substantial, equating to one third of the purchase price of the whole building. Kingsley'

[243] Peter Staughton was the Architect responsible for the creation of the Yorick Tavern in the Club basement which occurred on the merger with the YC. He has been a MSC member since 1961 and formerly worked for the famous American Architect, Frank Lloyd Wright.

[244] At much the same time (1925), J. J. Meagher was also engage to convert the historic property *Coggeshall* into Clubrooms for the Sandringham Club.

[245] Percy Meldrum was greatly influenced by the American architect Frank Lloyd Wright and was responsible for many buildings around Melbourne and regional Victoria in the art deco style, including the Castlemaine Art Gallery and Historical Museum. He was later to go into practice with (Sir) Arthur Stephenson (Stephenson and Meldrum) and their firm was responsible for the remodelling in 1933 of Newspaper House at 247-49 Collins Street which is today chiefly notable for its mosaic with prominently featured streamlined planes, trains and automobiles, executed by MSC artist, Napier Waller.

a partner in the firm Anketell & K Henderson founded in 1905 was one of Melbourne's most fashionable architects[246] and, although he did not join the MSC until 1924, he was known to many members as a long-term member of the 'T Square Club', an association of artists, architects and students formed to advance study of architecture and allied arts. [247]

The resultant 'Social Room' with its 'medieval' timber panelling is still today regarded as one of the finest Clubrooms in Melbourne. This magnificent room, complete with its own stage, proscenium arch and footlights, enabled the Club to feature the concerts, so closely associated with its raison d'être and it is specifically singled out in the Club's heritage listing for its interior. Even then, the budget was stretched to the limit and it was only through the donation of the materials by a Club member that the two handsome fireplaces, so much a feature of the room, were able to proceed.

The portrait by Charles Wheeler on the left of Kingsley Henderson (Fig 21) was commissioned by the Club after Henderson's death in 1942. Both Henderson (8th President) and Wheeler (11th President) were Presidents giving rise to the unusual situation where a portrait of a President was painted by his successor.

Figure 21 ***Kingsley Anketell Henderson CMG* – Wheeler 1942-3**
This picture hangs in the Club's Long Room.

[246] Helena Morris, '*Kingsley Henderson. Architect of Civic Virtue*', Research Thesis (Deakin University, 2011).

[247] The T-Square Club is reputedly the oldest arts and craft club in Australia. It originally met at the Working Man's College (now RMIT University) where its first President H. Desbrowe Annear worked. Henderson (1880-1977) had been secretary of the T Square Club since 1903, the first intimation of his energetic interests in the activities of the profession.

Basement Floor Plan Ground Floor Plan

First Floor Plan Second Floor Plan

Figure 22 **Melbourne Savage Club – Current Floor Plans (1925-2013)**
Drawings by Graeme H Williams FRAIA

The plans above (Fig. 22) show the MSC much as it is today[248], with most of the alterations to the upper floors done by Messrs Meagher and Meldrum in 1923 and the Ground floor renovated by Henderson, two years later in 1925.

The early works included the Billiard Room on the First Floor (Fig. 23) and Main Dining Room (Fig. 24) on the Second Floor. The Dining Room with its ceiling punkahs[249], later mechanised, is unique in Melbourne and these works immediately lent a colonial feel to the new clubhouse. These two rooms in particular showcase important categories in the MSC collection, with the Dining Room walls featuring Black and White works and the Billiard Room walls featuring historic photographs with a display of ethnographic artefacts affixed to timber and chicken-wire frames above the perimeter picture rail.

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[248] The Club minutes record three significant alterations which came later. The first of these was in 1937 when the Main Dining Room was extended by removing the enclosing upper walls to the stairway and a small performance stage created. The second was when a lift was installed in 1959 and the final works occurred at the time of the merger with the YC when a section of the Basement was converted to 'The Yorick Tavern', a popular place for the legal fraternity to gather for lunch.

[249] These were later added whilst RG Menzies was President of the Club.

Figure 23 **Billiard Room looking North towards Card Room and Library**
Showing ethnographic collection and historic photographs
Photo: Anna Robinson (2011)

Figure 24 **Main Dining Room**
showing ceiling punkahs and performance stage
Photo: Anna Robinson (2011)

The Savage as a Performing Space

The MSC was registered with Heritage Victoria[250] (HV) on the 9th October 1974 with the citation for the interior of the Club stating that it is "significant for reflecting the ideals of the Melbourne Savage Club."[251] Special elements incorporated in the conversion of the premises to meet the aspirations of the MSC, and which give rise to this listing, are those reflecting its origins originating out of the Melbourne Musical Appreciation Society, such as the proscenium stage in the Social Room complete with apron, footlights, stage lighting, brocade stage curtains and backdrops. There is another performance stage upstairs in the Main Dining Room created in 1937 and the MSC is the only 'gentlemen's Club' throughout Australasia to boast such features.

The HV citation relies largely upon the fact that it is the last example of a bohemian club in Melbourne and states that it is important for its contribution to the artistic, literary and social history of Victoria. Its actual reference to the individual component elements which contribute to create a distinctive club interior on the other hand is very scant and it restricts itself to mention of the stage and the two 'grand fireplaces' in the Social Room (see Figs. 27 and 28) and the ceiling punkahs in the Main Dining Room (see Fig. 24).

The National Trust of Victoria (NTV) goes into more specific details however in its listing and it describes the interior as an excellent example of:

> 'masculine' effects, as expected for a men's club featuring dark timber detailing, furniture and fittings, and comfortable upholstered leather furniture. The main Social Room (designed by Henderson in 1925) is the most notable, achieving a general medieval effect, with a beamed ceiling, over-scaled fireplaces at each end, some original Tudor-styled furniture, paintings by club members, and an extraordinary ethnographic collection (probably from the Pacific area) of spears, shields and masks incorporated into the decoration. Other rooms, such as the foyer, stairs and Billiard Room

[250] The Melbourne Savage Club has been included on the Victorian Heritage Register database (VHR No. H0025 refers). Its citation reads: 'The Melbourne Savage Club is of social, historical and architectural significance to the State of Victoria.'

[251] *ibid*

carry on this character, while the simpler dining room features Punkahs used to ventilate the room which are of particular interest.[252]

The music legacy at the MSC is very strong and it is anomalous that HV overlooked what is possibly its greatest contribution to its distinctive character. At one stage the MSC had its own orchestra, choir and music director and research into the cultural significance of the building interior as 'reflecting the ideals of the Melbourne Savage Club', reveals that most of the performing musicians and actors who performed at the Club were members of the MSC, a situation which still exists today. The painting (Fig. 25) by MSC artist, George Benson, shows the Savage Orchestra performing on the Club's newly established stage in 1926 at a farewell concert for founding member, Frederick Newman, (Member 1894-1939) with one of the violas most likely being the modernist painter, George Bell and one of the violinists Bernard (later Sir Bernard) Heinz.

Figure 25 ***Savage Orchestra* – Benson 1926**
This painting is featured in the Club's Main Dining Room

[252] Refer to National Trust Heritage Database (Building File No. B0436, Hermes No. 64319), entry dated 7/02/200. The MSC is listed as being of State Significance (H1)

The Club has always maintained a distinguished base in the performing arts and prominent members include Alberto Zelman (Fairweather and Zelman Memorial Symphony Orchestra 1984), founder of the Melbourne Symphony Orchestra (MSO), who gave his first performance in the Club in 1895 as a twenty year old violinist, Sir Bernard Heinz AC, the first Australian knighted for services to music, and the MSO's longest serving chief conductor Hiroyuki Iwaki, who was named Conductor Laureate of the orchestra in 1989 and held the title until his death in 2006.

All the above remained active members of the MSC well into their retirement and the Club today still attracts a broad range of persons from the worlds of music and theatre. Even as recently as 2005, Maestro Gerald Gentry (who joined the London Savage Club in 1947) formed the Southern Cross Philharmonia within the MSC and holds regular fund-raising events on the Club stage and Savage pianist, Roger Woodward performs recitals on the Club's Steinway.

Figure 26 Bastille Day 20 July 2011
Picture showing Club singers, Jerzy Kozlowski (baritone), Lawrence Allen (tenor) and Richard Hobson (tenor) on the Social Room proscenium stage with proscenium arch, brocade curtains and painted set back-drop.

The tradition of performance still is as alive in the MSC today as it was in the nineteenth century, with the Club boasting amongst its membership, producers, directors, actors, musicians, singers, composers, conductors, set painters and a very appreciative audience. (see Fig. 26)

Figure 27 **Club Social Room taken in 1947 looking South**
(showing its distinctive interior and one of the feature fireplaces.)
Source: Melbourne Savages p. 46

Figure 28 **Club Social Room taken in 1984 looking South**
(artefacts have now replaced the animal heads and bookcases added).
Source: Laughter and the Love of Friends p. 215

The Ethnographic Collection

The MSC boasts an extensive collection of over one thousand indigenous artefacts, mostly from the Polynesian and Melanesian regions, especially New Guinea. Most artefacts had been donated by travelling members from the earliest days of both the Yorick and Savage Clubs, however some were acquired by exchange, such as the 85 artefacts from Australia and the Pacific which were received from the Museum of Victoria in 1906, 79 in return for a vaka heke fa[253] (four-person canoe from Niue) and another six items provided by Museum Director, Sir Baldwin Spencer[254] in exchange for some weapons.

A photo[255] of a mock trial with Alberto Zelman as the defendant, taken in the MSC clubhouse in 1913, shows a substantial collection of ethnographic works already existed by the time the Club relocated to Bank Place, however the MSC's minute books indicate that majority of the ethnographic works were acquired in the late 1930s, shortly after the MSC settled into their present clubhouse. These included a pair of New Guinean totem poles (Fig. 29) presented by Albert J. Longoni in 1937[256]; a Hagen axe donated by Mr Leahy of New Guinea, a former Honorary member of the Club, and over 500 works by Club member, Brigadier General Evan Alexander Wisdom[257], in

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[253] The canoe had been donated to the Club in 1903 by founding MSC member, Dr H W Bryant. The artefacts received from the museum were valued at £35.

[254] Nicolas Peterson, Lindy Allen, and Louise Hamby, *The Makers and Making of Indigenous Australian Museum Collections* (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Publishing, 2008) xvi, 596 p. at 155.

[255] Joseph Johnson and Melbourne Savage Club., *Laughter and the Love of Friends: A Centenary History of the Melbourne Savage Club 1894-1994 and a History of the Yorick Club 1868-1966* (Melbourne: Melbourne Savage Club, 1994) x, 349 p., [28] p. of plates at 95.

[256] MSC Minute Book, General Committee Meeting 26th January 1937, MSC Archives.

[257] Brigadier General Evan Alexander Wisdom, CB, CMG, DSO, VD joined the MSC in 1934 and remained a member until his death in 1945. He was the first civilian administrator of the Mandated Territory of New Guinea (1921-1932). The diary of Captain C. A. Littler, D.S.O., of the 12th Battalion, who was beach adjutant at Anzac , records that Brigadier General Evan Wisdom was the second last soldier to leave Gallipoli. The last was General Paton. (The 45th Annual Report of

1938[258]. The display of the totems was entrusted to the President, Club Architect, Kingsley Henderson, and the Chairman of the Art Committee, Harold Herbert, and they became a prominent feature of the main stairway.[259] It is assumed that the display of the remainder of the artefacts also occurred at this time although there are no records in the minutes. Their display on chicken-wire stretched across timber frames is distinctive however it also is well considered with the various artefacts carefully grouped and placed indicating knowledge of their provenance, suggesting that perhaps Wisdom himself had a hand in advising the persons responsible. This further enhances the significance of the collection.

With the advent of the Wisdom artefacts, the MSC collection became one of the largest and most significant private collections in Australasia with most of the items reflecting old customs prior to the advent of colonisation and missionary intervention in New Guinea.

Two distinctive factors of the ethnographic items in the Savage collection are the almost total functionalism of the objects and the fact that the majority of the New Guinea artefacts were assembled before the influence of Christian Missionaries in the 1930s. Hence they are traditional tools, weapons and cultural items rather than the later largely 'art' objects and handicrafts that have been produced since under the banner of cultural revival or revitalisation.

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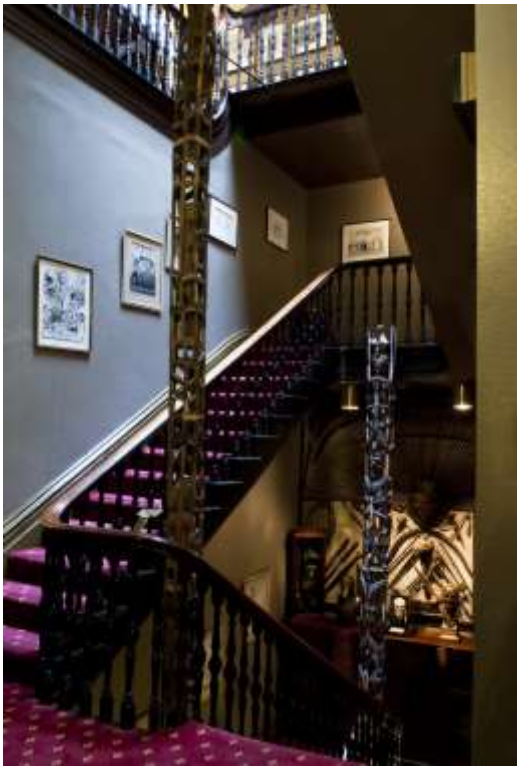
the MSC in 1939 makes special mention of 'General E. A. Wisdom's wonderful gift of a unique collection of native weapons and curios from New Guinea')

[258] Both donations recorded in MSC Minute Book, General Committee Meeting 25th October 1938, MSC Archives

[259] MSC Minute Book, General Committee Meeting 20th September 1938, MSC Archives.



Guideri refers to items produced since the advent of Christianity and the discouragement of the old customs as false *Kastrom,*[260] a position also emphasised by Graburn[261] and this is also likely to contribute to the collection's significance as most works pre-date this time.

Figure 29 The Stairway
This photo shows New Ireland totems and mid- landing display on the main stairway.

The ethnographic works in the Savage collection are exhibited as though they are art or decoration with no attempt to set them in context by either classification or schematic arrangement as might be the temptation in a museum collection. This lack of an in-context approach to installation of the works means that there was no strategy to establish a theoretical approach for the viewer, to offer explanations, provide historical background or pose questions in relation to the material on display. Kirshenblatt-Gimlett speaks of ethnographic objects moving 'from curio to specimen to art'[262] however, to an extent this has not occurred in the MSC as an outcome of the sheer

[260] *Kastrom,* a pidgin English term, refers loosely to 'customs, values, beliefs, and traditional institutions, whether long abolished or still alive (whatever their state of preservation). Guidieri, Remo, Pellizzi, Francesco & Tambiah, Stanley J.. *Ethnicities and Nations. Processes of Interethnic Relations in Latin America, South East Asia and the Pacific* Houston: Rothko Chapel / University of Texas Press, 1988. pp. 204-5

[261] Nelson H. H. Graburn, *Ethnic and Tourist Arts: Cultural Expressions from the Fourth World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976) xv, 412 p., [4] leaves of plates.

[262] Refer to discussion by Kirshenblatt-Gimlett , *Objects of ethnography*, in: Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimlett, 'Objects of Ethnography', in Ivan Karp, Steven Lavine, and Rockefeller Foundation. (eds.), *Exhibiting Cultures : The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 386-443 at 390.

massing of the collection, resulting in the greater number of the pieces not being viewed in isolation.

'Collecting is a form of conquest and collected artefacts are material signs of victory over their former owners and places of origin.'[263] Clasen and Hughes comment on this in relationship to museums when they comment how the display of ethnographic artefacts contributes to the model of colonisation, the artefacts being reduced to the visual. They argued that as the (museum) displays represented cultures, the peoples providing them had symbolically 'had their senses and sensory presences disciplined' and 'through their representative artefacts they were rendered touchless, speechless, and smell-less'.'[264] The displays of the Savage ethnographic collection are a colonial construction and, whilst a manifestation of Western colonial history, are untrue to the other cultures which they represent. As Pierson-Jones reminds us, displays of ethnographic artefacts become 'symbolic of complex colonial and post-colonial relationships, and can inform our understanding of the present-day world.'[265]

A Piece of History

One of the Club's most significant paintings entered the Club's collection at this time, namely a portrait of the Tasmanian Chieftain, *Manalangarna*, painted by Thomas Napier (1802-1881) in 1832. This historic painting (Fig. 30) of one of Tasmania' last full-blood aborigines was originally in the collection of the artist and his family until donated to the Club (1930) by Ambrose Paterson[266], a descendent of the painter. In the custody of the Club, the picture was not maintained and when the unframed remnants were re-discovered by Club artist, Vernon Jones, he undertook its restoration and

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[263] Elizabeth Edwards, Chris Gosden, and Ruth B. Phillips, *Sensible Objects : Colonialism, Museums and Material Culture* (English edn., Wenner-Gren International Symposium Series.; Oxford ; New York: Berg, 2006) xiv, 306 p. at 209.

[264] Ibid., at 210-11.

[265] Refer to her discussion in the chapter 8 , pages 221-241, The Colonial Legacy and Community in: Ivan Karp et al. (eds.), *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992) x, 614 p. at 235.

presented it back to the Club in 1982.[267] During restoration, the following inscription was found glued to the back of the canvas:

> TITLE and DATE.
>
> "MANALANGARNA a Tasmanian Chief 1832"
>
> One of the natives brought into Hobart by Mr Robinson in 1831.
> This man was very useful to the Whites.
> Taken by Mr. T. Napier from life.

Figure 30 ***Manalangana*** **- Napier 1832**
This picture hangs in the Social Room.

The subject of the portrait, Manalangana, was a leader of the Ben Lomond tribe[268]. In the 1810s, he had much contact with and knowledge of white sealers and even went on at least one (and maybe several) sealing trips with them and must have known and understood "white ways" better than any other Tasmanian chief at the time. In *The Aboriginal Tasmanians,* Ryan tells of the first meeting on the 31st October 1931 of George Augustus Robinson with the Tasmanian Aboriginal leader, Manalangana and how Robinson used Manalangana to assist him in capturing the remnant aborigines in Tasmania, especially Umarrah who was the best known resistance fighter against the Europeans in the settled districts.[269]

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[266] Napier married Jessie Paterson on 3rd August 1836.

[267] Refer accompanying letter dated 1 March 1982, from Vernon Jones to Club President, Wally Dowley.

[268] Dutton claims that Manalangarna was from Gun Carriage Island. Geoffrey Dutton and Art Gallery of South Australia. Board., *White on Black: The Australian Aborigine Portrayed in Art* (South Melbourne, Vic.: Macmillan of Australia in association with the Art Gallery Board of South Australia, 1974) 168p. at 36.

[269] Lyndall Ryan, *The Aboriginal Tasmanians* (2nd edn.; St. Leonards, N.S.W.: Allen & Unwin, 1996) xxxii, 380 p. at 124-59.

At the time of Napier's arrival in Hobart, he saw the surviving members of the Big River Tribe being brought into Hobart Town, en route to Flinders Island, by George Augustus Robinson, the newly-appointed protector of aborigines:

> just in time to witness the bringing in of the last lot of aborigines ….. on their way to Flinders Island …. (and) just in time to make good use of his artistic talent.[270]

Napier obtained permission from Robinson to paint the portraits of this group, including the one of Manalangana[271] which has found its way into the collection of the MSC.[272]

Napier was unhappy with Hobart as 'the abode of convicts and Government officials'[273] and he charted a small schooner, the "Gem", and set sail for Melbourne in March 1837 with a load of timber. When he arrived in Melbourne, there were no permanent dwellings as there had yet to be land sales. At the first land sale in June 1837, he purchased a half acre allotment in Collins Street, where the CBA was to later stand, for £20 cash and later that year, when the third land sale took place he bought another quarter acre block where the Argus office later stood, also for £20.[274] Napier was to build the first brick home in Melbourne and later to build a family home where the Argus building still stands.

In 1845, Napier procured 100 acres at Moonee Ponds and resided there until his death in 1881. When residing in Moonee Ponds, Napier was to paint several portraits of friends and he was to execute the first oil painting of a

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[270] Thad W. H. Leavitt and W. D. Lilburn, *The Jubilee History of Victoria and Melbourne, Illustrated*, 2 vols. (Melbourne: Duffus Bros., Printers, 1888) 2 v., [197] leaves of plates at 19.

[271] It is assumed that Mannalargenna referred to by Ryan (1996) and Clark (1986) is the Manalangana in the Club's Social Room, painted by Thomas Napier under commission from G. A. Robinson. The portraits by Duterrau and Thomas Bock in the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery bear a very strong likeness. Earlier references such as Bonwick (1869) and Davies (1973) use the Manalangana spelling.

[272] The other two are to be found in collections of the TMAG and the QVMAG.

[273] Leavitt and Lilburn, *The Jubilee History of Victoria and Melbourne, Illustrated* at 20.

[274] *ibid.*

Port Phillip aborigine, *Jack Weatherley*.[275] Napier's descendents recount to Leavitt 'the wonderment with which the natives entered the artist's room to watch him at work, and to "poke the picture with their fingers to see if it had life, and look behind to see if they could find out the secret"'.[276]

He was to become a prosperous Melbourne citizen as indicated by his donation of three fountains to the city.[277]

Concluding Comments

The decade culminating in the late 1930s was instrumental in cementing together the ethos of the MSC. The collections accumulated during the first few decades could now be housed in a building that was their own and which mirrored their distinctive culture. Not only was it substantially larger than the Clubrooms that they had left behind but it was remodelled to include features such as the performing stage for Club concerts and welcoming open fires to create a real 'home away from home' for members. Moreover, the larger space not only facilitated display of what was becoming a substantial collection but encouraged members to donate even more works to enhance the walls. The large donation of the Wisdom ethnographic artefacts[278] during this time, in particular, established a 'Savage' atmosphere that the Club members took great pride in and were more than happy to let visitors to the Club form their own assumptions as to the origins of the Club name.

On the social side, the younger artists also enjoyed what the Club was offering and Hetherington reports that Napier Waller, enjoyed the company of older and

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[275] At the 1869 Melbourne Public Library Exhibition, Napier exhibited two oils, one of which was *A Native of Melbourne*. This was presumably the Port Phillip aborigine, Jack Weatherly.

[276] Recounted in Eve Buscombe, *Artists in Early Australia and Their Portraits : A Guide to the Portrait Painters of Early Australia with Special Reference to Colonial New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land to 1850 with Detailed Biographies, Catalogues of Works and Sources of Australian Portraiture* (Sydney: Eureka Research, 1979) vi, 421 p. at 165,6.

[277] Elisabeth Ann Findlay, '*Portraiture in Early Victoria, 1834-1861: A Study of Art and Patronage in Colonial Society*', Research Thesis (Australian National University, 1994) at 380.

[278] The ethnographic collection is prominently displayed in the Ground floor Social Room, the stairwell and the Billiard Room.

more experienced men found at the Club, [279] who admitted him to their friendship and decisively influenced the rate and direction of his intellectual growth. These included artists, Tom Roberts, John Longstaff, Will Dyson and Blamire Young; anthropologist, Baldwin Spencer and architects, Harold Desbrowe Annear and Percy Meldrum.

[279] The persons mentioned by Hetherington were all members or closely associated with members of the MSC. The fact that his personally inscribed book is to be found in the Club library supports the suggestion that it is the MSC is the venue of which he is speaking. John Hetherington, *Australian Painters: Forty Profiles* (Melbourne: Cheshire, 1963) 240 p. at 60.

CHAPTER VI THE INFLUENCE OF THE ACADEMY (1935-50)

Introduction

The preceding chapters outline the contribution of the artists and musicians who were so critical to the formation of this Club with bohemian aspirations. By the late thirties, not only was the character of the MSC established but the interior and its collections that we see today were largely in place.

Whilst the MSC derives its culture from artistic members, like most Clubs which weathered the depression, it owed its economic survival to the fact that it attracted and maintained a strong base of prominent identities from the law, commerce and politics. One of these was Robert Gordon Menzies.

Menzies, Modernism and the Australian Academy of Arts

When Robert Gordon Menzies joined the MSC in 1925 at the age of thirty he had been at the Victorian Bar for seven years and he was not only closely involved with many members through the law and politics but he had also made friends with many Savages in the Melbourne art world. One reason why this came to be was that, only the previous year, he had been embroiled in a lengthy case[280] of *Falcke vs Herald and Weekly Times* where visiting English 'art expert', Captain Shirley Falcke, took libel action against James Stuart MacDonald, art critic for his friend Keith Murdoch's *The Herald*.

Both MacDonald and Murdoch were active members of the MSC and Savage Leo Cussen[281] and Menzies appeared for them whilst another Savage, Stanley R. Lewis, appeared for the appellant. Witnesses for MacDonald included Savage artists, Charles Wheeler, George Bell, Louis McCubbin, Harold Herbert, William B. McInnes, Blamire Young and John Longstaff. Another Savage, Mr. Justice Schutt, sat on the bench when an appeal was lodged.[282]

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[280] This case is described in: Eileen Chanin, Judith Pugh, and Steven Miller, *Degenerates and Perverts: The 1939 Herald Exhibition of French and British Contemporary Art* (Carlton, Vic.: Miegunyah Press, 2004) 1 v. at 274-6.

[281] Menzies enjoyed the distinction of being the first pupil of Owen Dixon. Recounted by Judge J. G. Norris in Cameron Hazlehurst, *Menzies Observed* (Hornsby, N.S.W.: George Allen & Unwin Australia, 1979) 388 p. at 36.

[282] Dow, *Melbourne Savages, a History of the First Fifty Years of the Melbourne Savage Club* at 64.

Menzies very quickly got involved in the politics of the Club, joining the General Committee in 1927 at the age of thirty-two and serving on it for two years before resigning in 1929, a year after he had entered politics as a member of the Legislative Assembly and in the same year that he took silk to become a King's Counsel.

In 1932 Menzies was the youngest man in the Ministry of another Savage, Sir Stanley Argyle,[283] and held positions as Victorian Attorney-General, Solicitor-General, Minister for Railways, and Deputy Leader of the United Australia Party, arguably also the most able man in Cabinet. According to Joanna Mendelssohn, biographer of former YC member Lionel Lindsay, it was around this time that Menzies first proposed the idea of an Australian Academy of Art (AAA)[284] based on England's Royal Academy. Menzies, whose artist friends included Lionel Lindsay and Savage members, J. S. MacDonald, Harold Herbert and John Longstaff, was opposed to the emerging Modernism and saw the establishment of the AAA as necessary to restore authority to tastes challenged by Modernism.

By this stage the Melbourne public had been exposed to Modernism when, in 1927[285], a group of painters, commanded the whole of the West wall at the Twenty Melbourne Painters' annual exhibition.[286] Four years later, at the suggestion of the *Herald*'s managing director, Keith Murdoch, an exhibition of over sixty reproduction modernist prints was opened on the 2nd September 1931[287] in the Assembly Room of the Herald Building. Largely as a result, the

[283] The Honourable Sir Stanley Seymour Argyle KBE was also the second President of the YC (1928-29).

[284] Mendelssohn, *Lionel Lindsay: An Artist and His Family* at 194.

[285] McQueen gives this date as 1931.

[286] The Twenty Melbourne Painter Society Inc. was founded in 1918, included many MSC artists in its membership, including the early Modernists, George Bell and Arnold Shore. Pinson and Mcdonald Smith, '*90 Years of the Twenty Melbourne Painters Society*', at 5.

[287] The exhibition was opened by the Chairman of the *Herald*, Theodore Fink, an active member of the YC since 1879.

Contemporary Group of pro-Modernists was formed the following year with Savage artists, George Bell, Arnold Shore and Daryl Lindsay all prominent.[288]

Figure 31 *Robert Gordon Menzies* - Sir John Longstaff 1933
This picture of Menzies was painted during his term as Attorney General. It hangs in the Club's Long Room.

As managing director of the *Herald and Weekly Times*, Sir Keith Murdoch promoted Modernism through his newspapers and through the political influence which these offered him and later employed (Sir) Daryl Lindsay as a critic. MSC artists were strongly represented in the early Modernist movement in Melbourne and a number of publications[289] chronicling the time tell of MSC members and their influence through the Bell-Shore School and the Contemporary Art Group (CAG) formed by former Savage, George Bell.

[288] Bell, Shore and Lindsay had all been active MSC members. Humphrey Mcqueen, *The Black Swan of Trespass: The Emergence of Modernist Painting in Australia to 1944* (Sydney: Alternative Publishing Cooperative, 1979) xiv,178p., 36p. of part col.plates at 22.

[289] Refer to: McQueen's *The Black Swan of Trespass: the emergence of Modernist painting in Australia to 1944 ibid.*, together with *Modernism* Lionel Lindsay, *'Modernism', Art in Australia,* Third/67 (1937): 24-25., Mary Eagle and Jan Minchin, *The George Bell School. Students-Friends-Influences* (Melbourne: Deutscher Art Publications, 1981b)., June Helmer, *George Bell, the Art of Influence* (Richmond, Vic.: Greenhouse, 1985) 136 p., [32] p. of plates., Rob Haysom, *Arnold Shore: Pioneer Modernist* (Melbourne, Vic.: Macmillan Art Publishing, 2009) 144 p. and Chanin, Pugh, and Miller, *Degenerates and Perverts: The 1939 Herald Exhibition of French and British Contemporary Art*.

The conservative Menzies[290] pressed on with his plans for an Academy and in 1935, together with with another Savage member, Robert (Bob) Croll[291], he approached nine eminent artists, inviting them to form the nucleus of his proposed AAA. Not all of these artists were amenable to this suggestion however, and even the conservative Savages amongst the eminent artists were split on the issue, with McInnes and Longstaff supporting the idea and Streeton in opposition.

The Modernists and their supporters were certainly opposed to the AAA and former Savage member and prominent T-Square Club member,[292] George Bell, soon took up the cudgels for the anti-academy forces. In a letter to *The Herald* of the 16th May1936, George Bell strongly criticised the Menzies proposal for a 'Royal Academy' in Australia which he claimed will 'not do art any good'[293] and, in 1937, he launched a further trenchant attack on the AAA in the *Australian Quarterly* noting two dangers; 'the Academy would gather power for itself and its members' and 'it would enshrine a standard of sheer ignorance'. Instead of enlightenment, the people of Australian could expect from it merely 'the sanctification of banality' and 'the strict preservation of mediocrity'.

In the midst of this, MSC artist James Quinn, President of the VAS, on the 27th April 1937 invited Menzies to open the Society's annual show whilst at the same time he invited the CAG of Bell to exhibit their 'modernist' works on the West wall. Unperturbed by their presence at the gathering, Menzies, after reminding those present that he had been the initiator of the AAA, took it upon himself to attack the modernist works in the exhibition as reported in *The Argus*:

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[290] One of the portraits in Chapter VII profiles a young Menzies KC painted in 1935 by Sir John Longstaff. Menzies at this stage was the Federal Attorney-General.

[291] Robert Henderson Croll was the biographer of Tom Roberts.

[292] The T-Square Club was a dinner club of Architects and Artists who had been meeting at the Savage since 1901 (and who still meet there). George Bell was a past president of the Club and, at the time that Menzies proposed the AAA, it included conservative artists, J.S. MacDonald and W. B. McInnes, both of whom supported the Academy.

[293] George Bell, '*Of the Art Academy Plan*', *The Herald,* Sat. May 16 1936 p. 39.

> Certain principles must apply to this business of art as to any other business which affects the artistic sense of the community. Great art speaks a language which every intelligent person can understand. The people who call themselves modernists today talk a different language.[294]

This did not resonate well with Quinn[295], who, whilst a MSC member and former General Committee member, disassociated himself with Menzies' sentiments by: 'repudiating any sympathy that might be construed by the unwary as harbouring for these sentiments'.[296]

Over the following week other Savages and former Savages continued the debate in the press, firstly Norman McGeorge in a letter to the editor of the *Argus*[297] stating that 'Mr. Menzies ...does not approve of 'modern art' and accusing Menzies' view as being that art should be 'non-progressive' and that 'we should ever be content with representational painting' and then Sir Arthur Streeton with an article in the following week[298], claiming Menzies was wrong and drawing an analogy with the rebels from the Royal Academy in London who formed the New England Arts Club. This drew a prompt response from Menzies in another letter to the editor two days later deferring to a list of those artists invited to join the AAA which was 'selected by artists of the highest standing.'[299] In all, the debate raged for nearly three months in the Melbourne Press with both artists and lay people voicing their opinions, either in support

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[294] Victorian Artists' Society Exhibition Opened. (1937, April 28). *The Argus* (Melbourne, Vic.: 1848 - 1956), p. 9. Retrieved November 11, 2011, from http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article11060157

[295] Ironically Quinn became a founding member of the AAA. Refer to Australian Academy of Art *Constitution and Bylaws,* Sydney: Australian Academy of Art, 1937

[296] Adrian Lawlor, *Arquebus* (Melbourne: Ruskin Press, 1937) 216 p. at 17.

[297] Letter to the Editor of The Argus, 1 May 1937 as reported in Ann Stephen, Andrew Mcnamara, and Philip Goad, *Modernism & Australia: Documents on Art, Design and Architecture 1917-1967* (Miegunyah Press Series. Series 2; Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Publishing, 2006) xxvii, 1039 p. at 131.

[298] Arthur Streeton, '*Art and the Layman: Sir Arthur Streeton's View*', *The Argus, 11 May* 1937, sec. Letters to the Editor.

[299] Menzies letter to *The Argus* dated 3rd May 1937. For a list of MSC artists in the First Schedule see page 101.

of Menzies and the AAA or in favour of the modernists and modern art. This was well documented by Adrian Lawlor who published a book, *Arquebus*[300], later that year summarising the controversy played out in *The Argus* and *The Herald* and arguing strongly for the modernists.

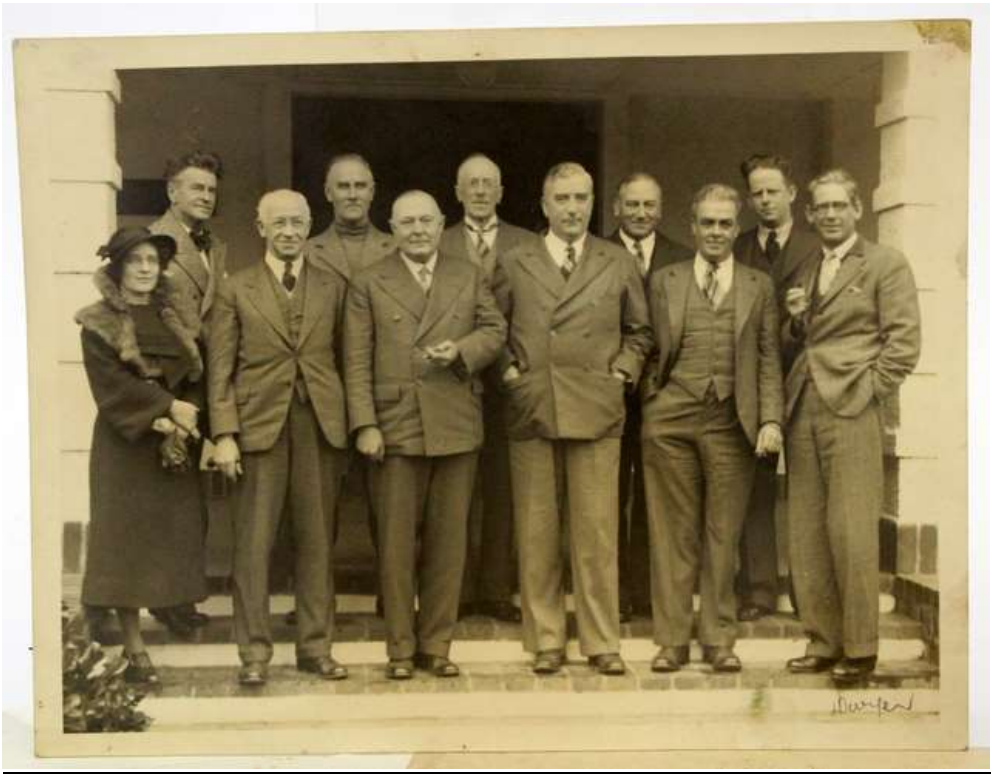

Figure 32 First Meeting of the AAA [301]
This picture hangs in the Billiard Room

[300] *Arquebus* chronicles and provides a unique art historical insight into the heated debates over the role of the AAA because it quotes verbatim virtually all of Menzies key pronouncements on modern art and thus his reasons for advocating an official academy of art. In it Lawlor contests the assumption of Menzies that academic conventions yield timeless clearly verifiable standards in art.

[301] This historic photo of the first meeting of the Australian Academy of Art (AAA) in July 1937 shows Attorney General Robert Menzies along with Harold Herbert, W B McInnes, William Rowell, RH Croll, Sydney Ure Smith, Norman Carter, Rayner Hoff, John Eldershaw, Hans Heysen and Daphne Mayo. The AAA met in the Savage Club and most persons in the photo are either Savage members or associated with the Club in other ways.

Figure 33 Sir *John Longstaff*
This self-portrait hangs in the Long Room

Menzies pressed on however and on 7 July 1937, Robert H. Croll, the secretary of the AAA, formed only weeks before, wrote to artists inviting them to reconsider becoming a foundation member. The First Schedule of the Constitution for the AAA contained a list of members including the following Savages: Alexander Colquhoun, A. D. Colquhoun, H. B. Harrison, James R. Jackson, Sir John Longstaff (Fig. 33), W. B. McInnes, Arnold Shore, Paul Montford, A. E. Newbury, Harold B. Herbert and James Quinn, the same man who had roundly criticised him at the VAS opening.[302]

At the 1937 election of the first Academy Council, the five elected representatives for the Southern Division were McInnes, Longstaff, Herbert, Heyson and William Rowell, all of whom were MSC members except for Heyson who was domiciled in South Australia. From 1937 until 1941 Sir John Longstaff was president of the AAA, a friend and intimate of Menzies and J.S. MacDonald, a man described by Bernard Smith as 'the hearty and complaisant embodiment of art and officialdom in Australia'.[303] In addition to Longstaff as the elected President, another Savage, Robert Croll, was the Honorary Secretary ensuring that the identification of the Club with the AAA was very strong. This association was exacerbated by the Academy meeting at the MSC when in Melbourne and it probably accounts for works by South Australian and New South Wales artists, Heyson and Fullwood, entering the Club's

[302] Australian Academy of Art, *Constitution and By-Laws*, in Australian Academy of Art, Sydney: Arthur McQuilty & Co., (printed Alan W. Baker), 1937 at 4

[303] Smith, Smith, and Heathcote, *Australian Painting, 1788-2000* at 189.

collection as they were both on the Academy Council and close friends with Lionel Lindsay[304] and the *Heidelberg School* painters.

After the formation of the AAA, former Savage, George Bell (Fig. 34), again emerged as its leading critic and a spokesman for 'modern art' pursuing a prolonged public argument with Menzies. In the June 1938 edition of the *Australian Quarterly* Bell aggressively attacked the AAA accusing it as 'the strict preservation of mediocrity'[305] and early the following month he took the lead with a leaflet *To Art Lovers* calling his fellow artists to arms. At a meeting on the 13th July 1938 he proposed a counter society of 'all artists and laymen who are in favour of encouraging the growth of living art'. [306]

Within a few days, 170 members had joined the Contemporary Art Society (CAS) and installed Bell as its founding President. It was to prove a diverse and fragmented grouping and included many *avant-garde* painters, especially Social Realists, as well as the Post-Impressionists whom Bell led, and he was soon to find himself at odds with its lay secretary, the solicitor and art patron, John Reed.

[304] Heyson was close friends with Yorick artist, Sir Lionel Lindsay. Colin Thiele, *Heyson of Hahndorf* (Adelaide: Rigby Limited, 1968) 320.

[305] George Bell, 'The Australian Academy: Its Influence on Australian Art', *The Australian Quarterly,* 10/No. 2 (Jun., 1938), (June 1938 1938), pp. 44-48

[306] Mary Eagle and Jan Minchin, *The George Bell School: Students, Friends, Influences* (Melbourne, Sydney: Deutscher Art Publications; Resolution Press, 1981a) 272 p. at 14.

On the 6th June 1940, Bell resigned and seceded from the CAS with 83 followers and founded the Melbourne Contemporary Artists, leaving John Reed to become President of the CAS. Speaking later on the CAS, Bell was to claim that after one successful year it was 'ruined by the communist element led by the lay members of the Council'. [307]

Figure 34 ***George Bell OBE*** **1908**
This self-portrait[308] hangs in the Long Room

As the AAA convened at the Savage Club when meeting in Melbourne, a lot of attention was focussed on the organsation at this time and a lot of debate ensued within the Club walls. For the first time, the MSC was associated within the Melbourne art community as a bulwark of conservatism, a far cry from its bohemian roots and a possible contributing factor to Sir Arthur Streeton ultimately resigning his MSC membership in 1939, preferring the lower profile of the Yorick[309], which was removed from the controversy, notwithstanding the fact that it contained within its membership, such strong AAA supporters as Sir John Longstaff, Harold Herbert, Sir Lionel Lindsay and J. S. MacDonald.

Exacerbating tensions within the MSC, the Club had a number of artist members at the time who were employed as art critics by the various newspapers, including the Herald Group headed by Savage, Keith Murdoch who was also a trustee of the NGV, whose Director by that time was Savage, J. S. MacDonald, the former Herald critic defended by Menzies. In a report to the NGV Trustees on the 30th October 1939, J. S. MacDonald, trenchantly attacked the 1939 'Exhibition of French and British Contemporary Art: "the

[307] Melbourne, State Library of Victoria, *George Bell Papers, ibid.*

[308] The picture was gifted to the MSC in 2003 by Antoinette Niven, the artist's daughter.

[309] Streeton and Tom Roberts had both joined the Yorick Club back in 1923 on their return from London. Sir John Longstaff joined the following year.

great majority of works called 'modern' are the product of degenerates and perverts and that by the press the public has been forcibly fed with it."[310]

This prompted a major falling-out with Murdoch, the then President of the Library, Museum and Gallery trustees whose *Herald* group of newspapers brought the exhibition to Australia. It was not long before, Murdoch, as the President of the Board of Trustees, edged MacDonald out of his position to replace him with (Sir) Daryl Lindsay, another Savage member whose sympathies towards Modernism were more closely-aligned to his own. MacDonald then went on to become art critic for the opposition *The Age* newspaper from 1943 to 1947.

Daryl Lindsay and MacDonald had diametretically opposed views as did many of the art critics and artist members who were prominent in both the AAA and CAS, with one MSC member, Arnold Shore, hedging his bets by holding membership of both[311].

Even amongst family members there was not to be consensus and Daryl Lindsay's older brother and active YC member, Lionel Lindsay was hostile to those artists whom he considered reduced art to sitting room decoration, whether anarchist modernists with their pretentious theory or *petit bourgeois* popularisers, such as William Rowell. He felt that this should give way to *Addled Art* 'high seriousness and the recovery of traditional means of expression'.[312]

For Lionel Lindsay 'drawing ..... has been the *bête noire* of modernism, for drawing demands discipline, patience, finesse of hand and eye'. To him,

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[310] Mcqueen, *The Black Swan of Trespass: The Emergence of Modernist Painting in Australia to 1944* at 36.

[311] William (Jock) Frater, a leading modernist and a former president of the VAS and member of both the T-Square Club and Twenty Melbourne painters was also a member of both the AAA and the CAS

[312] Lionel Lindsay, *Addled Art* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1942) xvi, 65 p., [8] leaves of plates. Also cited in Richard Haese, *Rebels and Precursors: The Revolutionary Years of Australian Art* (1988 edn.; Ringwood, Vic.: Penguin, 1981) 323 p., [24] p. of plates at 3.

modern art was 'a flight from reason, and had, perforce, to attack the foundations of tradition'.[313]

In what were rather controversial views in the early 1940s, when Australia was fighting against fascism in Europe, Lindsay attacked the perceived Jewish domination of the art market, holding Jewish dealers, critics and collectors with vested interests responsible for the popularity of the modernist art which he opposed.[314]

Arquebus chronicles and provides a unique art historical insight into the heated debates over the role of the AAA because it quotes verbatim virtually all of Menzies key pronouncements on modern art and thus his reasons for advocating an official academy of art. In it Lawlor contests the assumption of Menzies that academic conventions yield timeless clearly verifiable standards in art.

Figure 35 ***The T-Square Club depart*** **– Alex Gurney 1942**
This picture is displayed in the Long Room

The matter simmered within the walls of the MSC, for not only was it the meeting place of the AAA but also it had been the meeting place of the T-Square Club during this time. In 1942 the T-Square Club were to temporarily disengage from

[313] Lindsay, *Addled Art* at 34.

[314] Lindsay defended himself against allegations of anti-Semitism by declaring admiration for his late Jewish friend, the artist E. Phillips Fox.

this association and leave Bank Place, much to the relief of Menzies who can be seen lamenting their departure in the above caricature by Club artist Alex Gurney (Fig. 35). The cartoon is signed by many prominent artists such as Arnold Shore, Len Annois, William (Jock) Frater and Gurney, as well as some of Melbourne's most influential architects of the day, Robin Boyd[315] and John Scarborough[316]. We can assume that this tiff was only temporarily however as the NSC archives contain a letter dated 16th December 1947 from Loftus Overend, architect, the secretary of the T-Square Club donating Norman Lindsay's latest work and a letter in response dated 20th February 1948 from the secretary of the MSC to the T-Square Club, thanking them for the Lindsay donation in memory of Harold Herbert.

The 1940s coincided with some radical movements in Australian art, essentially revolving around three groups, none of whom were to be attracted to the MSC. The first and most significant of these was the so-called 'Angry Penguins', comprising Arthur Boyd, Sidney Nolan, John Percival and Albert Tucker, who frequented Heide Park at Bulleen, the home of their patron, solicitor, John Reed. Another grouping was the left-leaning 'Social Realists', Yosl Bergner, Noel Counihan and Victor O'Connor, who chose the Swanston Family Hotel to meet up with their writer friends Judah Waten and Alan Marshall along with other writers and artists. Finally, there was a group of painters and sculptors centred around Justus Jorgenson at Montsalvat in Eltham, who, when visiting Melbourne, chose to congregate at the Mitre Tavern in Bank Place, directly opposite the MSC. William Newnham writes in his 1956 *Melbourne, Biography of a City*, how the Mitre Tavern was 'generally crowded with artists, writers, lawyers and businessmen'.[317]

The AAA was to wind up in 1942, ironically the same year that the 'Artists' Unity Congress'[318] was held with strong support from all sections of the art

[315] Although not a Savage, Robin was the son of MSC artist, Penleigh Boyd, whose painting, *Warrandyte* 1923, hangs in the Club's Social Room.

[316] John Scarborough was later President of the Savage Club (1962-5)

[317] W. H. Newnham, *Melbourne: The Biography of a City* (1st edn.; Melbourne: F.W. Cheshire, 1956) *225 p., [25] pages of plates* at 63.

[318] This had the communist artist, Noel Counihan as its secretary and former AAA Savage artists Herbert, Quinn and Rowell on the Board. The Congress

community. Another instance where the various factions came together was the 'Australia at War' exhibition initiated by leftist members of the Artists Advisory Panel and the War Art Council in February 1944, which showed not only works by official war artists but most of the CAS artists and members of most art societies. It was well supported by the social "cream" of the Council for the Encouragement of Art and Music (CEMA), of which many of them were MSC members, including Prof. (Sir) J.D.G. Medley[319], Sir Keith Murdoch, Sir Daryl Lindsay and Louis McCubbin OBE.[320]

The CAS in its original form wound up in 1947. Menzies had not completely dropped his ambitions for academic recognition for Australian art however and a letter was sent to artists on the 12th October 1950 talking of the 'Fellowship of Australian Artists' being formed with the tentative committee including William Dargie and suggesting that the Hon. R. G. Menzies, PM of Australia may be the patron.[321]

In 1948, the MSC established an Art Fund 'for the purchase of pictures by artist members, past, present and future, or such others whose work is considered by the Art Committee as suitable and desirable for the Club to hang on its walls'[322]. In its first year the Art Committee resolved to acquire a self-portrait in memory of the late Sir John Longstaff (Fig. 32) and a pen and ink sketch by (Sir) David Low. It was obvious on which side the Modernist debate within the Club had concluded.

Concluding Comments

Although the MSC collection today contains works by both AAA and CAS members, Menzies long term in the presidency clearly identified the Club with Melbourne's highly conservative art establishment and the forces of reaction. This association of the MSC with the AAA came at a time when a particularly

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also included Savages, Dargie, Greenhalgh, Gurney, Hodgkinson, Daryl Lindsay, McGeorge, Shore, Warner and Wheeler.

[319] Prof. John Dudley Gibb Medley was Vice-Chancellor of Melbourne University

[320] Haese, *Rebels and Precursors: The Revolutionary Years of Australian Art* at 146.

[321] Reference appears in the *George Bell Papers*

[322] Refer 54th Annual Report of the Melbourne Savage Club -1948.

talented group of young artists, including Nolan, Tucker, Boyd and Percival, were coming to the fore and, although the AAA was to wind up in 1942, the strong association with Menzies[323] to the Club created a perception that it was not an institution sympathetic to modern art. This was indeed a far cry from the earlier reputation forged out of its roots as the home of the bohemian illustrators of the *Bulletin* and the *Melbourne Punch*.

There is good reason to attribute the fact that it was to be another half a century before the Club saw any fresh influx of significant artists to this association of the MSC with Menzies and the AAA. There is no doubt that Menzies was very passionate about the Club and would not have deliberately pursued any course that might have the effect of undermining its culture. In his mind, his fellow Australians would be aided in their appreciation of contemporary painting and sculpture by the establishment of an Academy of Art and if his Brother Savage, The Rt. Hon. Joseph Lyons, Prime Minister had supported him in his quest to obtain Royal Charter by making representation to the King, then he may well have acomplished it.

Notwithstanding this lack of intent to alienate the MSC from Melbourne's up and coming contemporary artists, the die was cast with Menzies going on to become President of the Melbourne Savage Club from 1947 to 1962, ironically suceeding the Club's one and only artist President[324], Charles Wheeler OBE DCM. During the period just outlined, it is clear from the above events that the MSC is significant as a key site where the debate between representational and abstraction was played out and that the attitutudes associated with powerful figures with the Club heirarchy ensured that the MSC collection did not feature abstract works before the end of the twentieh century.

[323] Menzies was concurrently Prime Minister of Australia and President of the MSC from the late 1940s to the early 1960s.

[324] Sir John Longstaff was previously President of the YC (1929-1930).

CHAPTER VII MERGER WITH THE YORICK (1950-1968)

Introduction

Although the YC, like the MSC was formed on the ideals of the LSC and bohemianism, with the YC having an initial literary focus and the MSC a musical one, both Clubs were quickly to take on lawyers and professional people as members. By all intent, they had much in common through their parallel lives and their membership profile and attitude was always less formal than the Melbourne[325] and Australian Clubs. Contrary to myth, neither featured the Colony's artists amongst their early members, although the Savage was the first to address this when its policy of not charging fee to artists, introduced at the turn of the twentieth Century, generated strong representation which was to last until the middle of the Century.

Throughout the twentieth century, and indeed into the twenty-first century, there have been a growing number of Club rationalisations. An early one of these was the absorption of the Harlequin Club[326] into the Yorick Club in 1928 and the merger which was to take place between the MSC and the YC. Whilst these were to ensure viability of the merging Clubs but they also served to enrich the cultural life of the respective clubs.

The YC was always a Club on the fringe and its attempt to transplant a quintessentially European sub-culture such as bohemianism to colonial life when it was not culturally derivative within the colony, 'unleashed the full impact of conservatism, fundamental to colonialism'[327].

An Inevitability

Melbourne, by the mid twentieth century was not able to support two bohemian clubs, although by this stage the bohemian element had been watered down in both the MSC and the YC. The Yorick, in particular, was floundering and was

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[325] The first Club to be founded in Melbourne was the Melbourne Club in 1838. This largely catered for the wealthy squatters and professional elite.

[326] The Harlequin Club had been formed only years before by Wilfred Kent Hughes, soldier, politician and later chairman of the organising committee for the 1956 Melbourne Olympics. The Club was founded for 'young public school men' but as a result of the merger, the Yorick revised its rules and elected its first Club President, The Right Honourable William Alexander Watt PC..

[327] Huntley, '*The Formation of the Yorick Club*.', (at 44, *ibid.*

particularly susceptible post 6 o'clock closing as it did not have its own premises and was affected by rising rents, increased staff costs and declining membership. The Savage, on the other hand, although also affected, at least owned its own premises and was the logical option if the YC was to survive.

In 1962, the YC had been forced to sell two paintings by Arthur Streeton and in 1966, the banks foreclosed on the Club, prompting their current President, Frank Jennings, to initiate merger terms with the MSC on the following basis:

1. The joining of the names Savage and Yorick.
2. The Yorick to pay out all its liabilities.
3. The Yorick to supply a list of financial members to be admitted without joining fee or scrutiny.[328]

Whilst the MSC agreed to these terms, there was still the issue of the need of the YC to discharge its debts and this necessitated the sale by auction of its assets. This was a concern for some of the members who did not want to be parted from their own memorabilia and YC member B G (Ernie) Brett and some others resolved to attend the auction and bid on favourable terms for the works so that they may install them in their new home. This was successful and MSC member, Peter Jones[329] recalls how, after the auction, YC members walked their paintings across town from the auction rooms to their new home in Bank Place.

Works from the Yorick

Although the collection brought in by the merger from the YC was not as extensive, it was similarly distinctive in its own way and certainly more bohemian in character than the other city Clubs, so much so that some YC members opposed the merger on the basis that they felt the MSC too conservative, possibly an honest observation at this time. One such item,

[328] Johnson and Melbourne Savage Club., *Laughter and the Love of Friends: A Centenary History of the Melbourne Savage Club 1894-1994 and a History of the Yorick Club 1868-1966* at 170.

[329] Peter Jones father, Vernon Jones was a YC members and Peter says how his father's portrait of YC steward, John Breen was purchased for ten guineas. (Interview with P. Jones 2 April 2013)

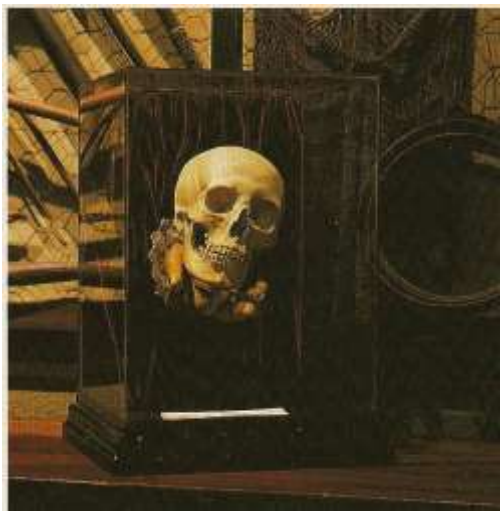

Figure 36 Yorick
This is displayed on the stair landing.

particularly appropriate for a Club such as the YC, was a skull (Fig. 36) presented to it by its President Sir Stanley Argyle (1867-1940), a member of both Clubs.[330] Argyle was Premier of Victoria from 1932 to 1935, holding office for the United Australia Party (UAP), of which MSC Club architect Kingsley Henderson was the Victoria leader[331].

Four other works merged into the collection from the Yorick were:

- A framed picture photos of two prominent founding members (Fig. 5), the poet Adam Lindsay Gordon and first YC secretary, writer, Marcus Clark.
- A framed cabinet containing 'Souvenirs from the German Cruiser "Embden": 1) Barrel of German rifle; 2) Piece of Shell from HMAS "Sydney"; 3) Dyak skull; 4) Part of Firing Piece of 4.1 German Gun.
- A signed reproduction of a portrait of Queen Elizabeth II[332]
- A watercolour *Pentland Hills* (Fig. 42) by Margaret Ethel (Peg) Tremills, winner of the 1957 'Yorick Art Prize'[333]

[330] Argyle is recorded in the records of the MSC as Dr. S. S. Argyle. He was a founding member 1894 and retained membership until 1903.

[331] On a Federal level, the MSC had even stronger connections with the UAP with its three Federal leaders, Joseph Lyons, Robert Menzies and William Morris Hughes[331], all serving as Prime Minister, albeit that Hughes served as ALP leader before resigning to join the UAP. Membership records show that Hughes joined the YC in 1928 and the MSC in 1936.

[332] In 1955 William Dargie was commissioned by the Commonwealth Government to paint a portrait in oils of her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II. On his return to Australia, he presented a reproduction to the YC (Refer 1955 Yorick Club Annual Report)

[333] The 'Yorick Art Prize' commenced in 1953 and last about twelve years. Peg Tremills was winner of the first prize in 1953 and won again in 1957. The Yorick Art Prize went from strength to strength attracting many top artists and in 1964 attracted 317 entries.

Some fine additions to the portrait collection

The merger between the MSC and the YC added some fine portraits to the MSC collection by such important artists as E. Phillips Fox (Fig. 38), Ugo Catani (Fig. 40) and Violet Teague (Fig. 39)[334]. The YC, despite its shared bohemian origins with the MSC, had its distinct membership focussed on literary and theatrical members rather than the visual arts and, for their first fifty years, significant artists were not to join their Club in any numbers. This had a consequential effect on the paintings that they brought into the MSC at the merger. Lacking painters as members, they initially were forced to look outside of the YC to commission portraits of their important members.

Figure 37 The Long Room (South Wall)
Portraits from Left: *George Bell (self), Kingsley Henderson (Charles Wheeler), Nubar John Chaldjian (Sir William Dargie), David Watterson (Sir John Longstaff), The Hon. Robert Menzies KC (Sir John Longstaff), George Bell (George Coates) & Lindsay Yeo (Sir William Dargie).*
Note: the two George Bells above are different; one was a YC life member, the other, the MSC Modernist artist.
Photo: David Collopy (2013)

[334] Violet Teague was associated with Chartersville along with Savages, Alf Vincent, Alec Sass, Will Dyson, James Quinn and Alex Crozier: Croll, *Tom Roberts: Father of Australian Landscape Painting* at 29.

Founding members and honorary life members such as secretaries formed the basis of the YC's commissioned portraits and, of course the first President, The Right Honourable William Alexander Watt PC[335] was amongst these (fig. 38).

Watt was giant in politics who had entered the Victorian colonial parliament in 1897 and when he was appointed as Postmaster-General at 28 years of age; he reportedly became the youngest cabinet minister in the British Empire. Watt was an early advocate for Federalism and was particularly supportive of the democratic reforms embodied in the federal draft such as women's suffrage, lower house control of the public purse and 'one man-one vote'.[336]

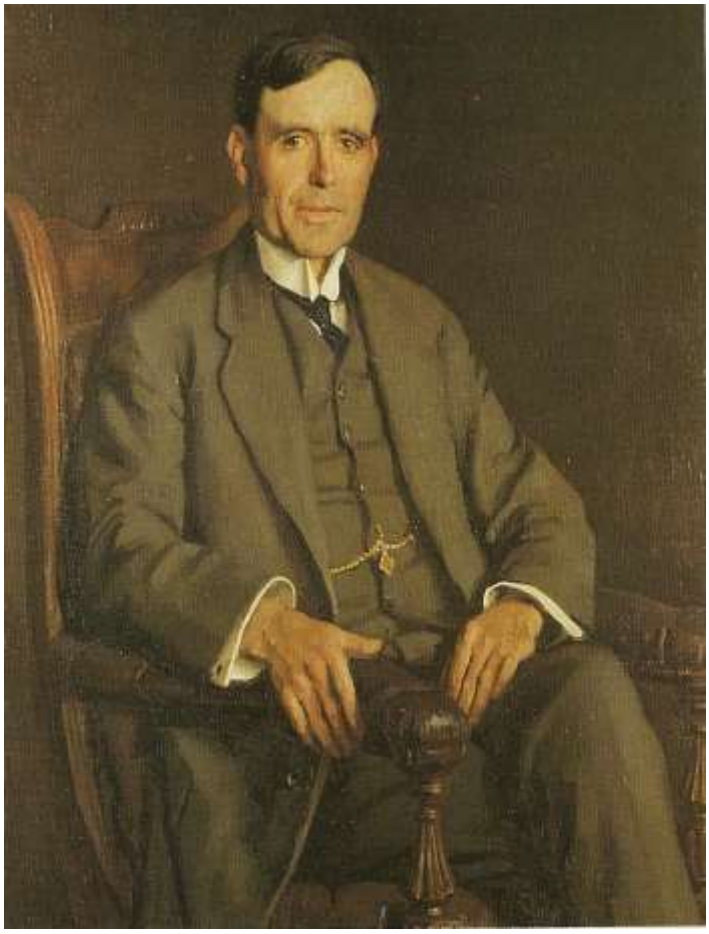

Figure 38 ***William Alexander Watt* – E Phillips Fox** 1914
This picture of Watt hangs in the Long Room

[335] John Anderson and Geoffrey Serle, '*Watt, William Alexander (1871–1946)*', *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (12; Melbourne: Melbourne University Press National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, 1990), 8.

[336] Refer to Anderson's discussion: John Stanley Anderson, '*W.A.Watt: A Political Biography*', Master of Arts (University of New South Wales, 1972) at 14-32.

As a parliamentarian, Watt quickly established a name for himself for his financial acumen and was at the forefront of negotiations between the States and the Commonwealth. Anderson maintains that Deakin[337] regarded Watt as his successor and encouraged by this, Watt resigned the premiership in 1914 and stood for Federal Parliament comfortably defeating John Curtin for the seat of Balaclava.[338] After transferring to the Federal parliament, Watt again distinguished himself as an orator and for his grasp of financial matters and was the one Liberal that Labor Prime Minister Billy Hughes could trust sufficiently as Acting Prime Minister whilst he was attending the Imperial War Conference in England and when later involved in the Treaty of Versailles.[339]

When Watt resigned from Parliament in 1929, accepting numerous directorships around town, he was already a great Clubman[340] and not only was he the first 'President'[341] of the Yorick Club in 1928, but he later served three further terms as President in 1941-42, 1942-43 and 1943-44. On his death in 1946, the YC described Watts as 'one of the most distinguished statesmen in the British Empire'.[342] Prior to that, Watt served as President of the elite West Brighton Club[343] in 1924-25 and again in1927-28, and he was Chairman of Trustees at the Melbourne Cricket Ground.[344] Watt was as well known for his conviviality as he was for the financial acumen that he brought to these Clubs, and he was also an active member of Victoria Golf Club, and the Athenaeum

[337] Watt's oration at Deakin's funeral in 1919 received much acclaim.

[338] Anderson and Serle, '*Watt, William Alexander (1871–1946)*'.

[339] Watt was acting Prime Minister from April 1918 until 30 August 1919 and Federal Treasurer from 27 March to 15 June 1920

[340] The Minute Book of the YC records that The Rt Hon W. A. Watt joined the Club in 1912 during his term as Premier of Victoria.

[341] Prior to 1928, the position of President was eschewed by Yorickers as being inconsistent with the Club's *Bohemian* origins.

[342] Yorick Club Annual Report 1946 refers.

[343] Graeme Adamson, *The West Brighton Club - 125th Anniversary 1881-2006* (Melbourne: The West Brighton Club, 2007).

[344] Anderson and Serle, '*Watt, William Alexander (1871–1946)*', at 7.

Club which features numerous references to him in its history as being a major reformer.[345]

The artist, Eduard Phillips Fox studied at the National Gallery School of Design at the same time as McCubbin, Roberts, Longstaff and the Scottish artist 'decorator' John Mather, all of whom were later to become amongst the first tranche of artists to join the MSC in 1900.[346] Leaving for Europe to further his studies in 1887, Fox studied at the Académie Julian in Paris (where he was joined by Longstaff and Withers) and later also gained admission to the École des Beaux-Arts.[347]

On his return to Melbourne in the early 1890s Fox occupied a second floor studio at Grosvenor Chambers, previously occupied by Tom Roberts, and renewed his friendships with McCubbin, Mather, and Withers, all of whom he met at the Gallery School.[348] Although never to join the MSC or YC, Fox was an active member of the VAS, which like the MSC featured regular 'smoke nights'[349] 'enshrined by the men for the bohemian concept of artistic camaraderie in the face of a philistine public.'[350]

When, in 1900, the trustees of the National Gallery commissioned Fox to paint *The landing of Captain Cook at Botany Bay*, he travelled back to Europe spending most of the time in Paris and London, and joining the Chelsea Arts Club like many of the other Australian artists.[351] Whilst socialising with other Australian artists at the artist colony in St Ives, Cornwall in 1901, Fox met his future wife Ethel Carrick[352] an accomplished artist who was attending summer

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[345] John Pacini, *Windows on Collins Street : A History of the Athenaeum Club, Melbourne* (Melbourne: The Athenaeum Club, 1991) 456 p. at 216, 29, 33, 301, 422.

[346] Ruth Zubans, *E. Phillips Fox: His Life and Art* (Carlton, Vic.: Miegunyah Press, 1995) xii, 243 p. at 9.

[347] *ibid* at 22, 23.

[348] *ibid* at 55,56.

[349] Although the VAS welcomed both male and female artists, the smoke nights were unavailable to the women artists.

[350] Zubans, *op cit* at 57.

[351] *ibid* at 104.

[352] Ethel Carrick Fox was to become an active member of the Lyceum Club, a Ladies Club in Melbourne.

classes in *plein-air* painting with fellow Slade School students. In 1904 Fox and Carrick married and they lived and exhibited in Paris before returning permanently to Australia in 1908[353].

Shortly after his return, the Historic Memorial Committee commissioned a series of portraits of Federal and state politicians[354] and asked Fox to paint the Prime Minister, Andrew Fisher, for the Federal Parliament House. It is ironic that the YC's portrait of the Rt. Hon. William Alexander Watt, Premier of Victoria between the years 1912-1914,[355] painted in late 1914, was not part of this scheme and was instead commissioned by the YC.[356] The following year Fox also painted portraits of The Rt. Hon. Sir John Forrest, Marshall Hall and Sir Baldwin Spencer, the latter two, who although never members, had strong connections with both the Savage and Yorick Clubs.[357]

[353] Tony Elwood and Queensland Art Gallery, '*Art, Love & Life: Ethel Carrick & E Phillips Fox*', in Queensland Art Gallery / Gallery of Modern Art (ed.), (Brisbane: Queensland Art Gallery / Gallery of Modern Art, 2011), 175 at 18-22.

[354] The Historic Memorial Committee also commissioned McCubbin and three Savages living in London, Longstaff, Quinn and Coates.

[355] Zubans, *E. Phillips Fox: His Life and Art* at 170.

[356] William Longstaff was commissioned to paint the portrait of William Watt which hangs in Parliament House.

[357] Zubans, *E. Phillips Fox: His Life and Art* at 230. The picture was accepted to be hung the following year (1895) at the Royal Academy in London.

Figure 39 ***Judge Alfred Wyatt*** **– Violet Teague 1894**
This picture hangs in the Card Room
Photo: David Collopy (2013)

Figure 40 ***Judge Alfred Wyatt* – Ugo Catani 1890**
This picture hangs in the Long Room.
Photo: David Collopy (2013)

Alfred Wyatt[358] (1818-1901) joined the YC in 1868 at 33 as a young police magistrate and the YC Annual Report for 1901 records his death as the last surviving founding member. The portrait of him by Catani (Fig. 38) was commissioned by the YC and another portrait was donated in 1946 by Violet Teague (Fig. 37), who is described as 'a charming old lady by the way'[359] and as someone who 'knew the judge very well'. Both came into the MSC collection on the merger. Violet Teague (1872-1951), who studied under E. Phillips Fox at Chartersville, was regarded by many as being one of the top portrait painters of her day.

[358] As a Police Magistrate, Alfred Wyatt was best remembered when he had to sit in judgement on alleged members of the Kelly gang.

[359] Refer *YC Annual Report* 1946.

Artists and the Yorick

When the YC was to admit its first artist members, it was not surprising that most of them were also Savages or former Savages returning from Europe and the First World War. Two returning MSC members, Tom Roberts and his long-time friend John Longstaff, even chose to join the YC instead of rejoining the MSC. In the case of Longstaff, he was to become the third elected President of the YC in 1929[360], at which stage he then rejoined the Savage. Ironically it was not until nearly two decades later, in 1945 that the MSC was in turn to elect their first artist President, Charles Wheeler OBE DCM.

By the time the YC and the MSC discussed merger however, most of the YC artists had passed away apart from two newly-joined artists, (Sir) William Dargie and Vernon Jones, who were also members of the MSC[361]. Instead of strengthening their participation in the arts, the merger seems to have diluted it, if the membership role or the accession date of the works entering into the collection is to serve as a guide, although the visual arts in the Club remained important.

Vernon Jones (1908-2002) painting of popular YC steward John Breen (Fig. 41) was a finalist in the 1953 Archibald Prize for Portraiture. It was presented to the Yorick Club by the artist in 1954 and then to the Savage Club on amalgamation. It hangs outside the Third World Bar and is one of the more popular paintings linking the two collections.

[360] In 1929 Longstaff became the first Australian knighted for services to art'

[361] Vernon Jones' son, Peter, and Sir William Dargie's son, Roger, were both to become members of the MSC. Peter is an artist and has donated a number of pictures to the Club, including an oil portrait of Sir William Dargie based on sketches when he celebrated his 90th birthday at the MSC

Figure 41 *John Breen* - Vernon Jones 1953
This painting is hangs on the First Floor Landing

Concluding Comments

Ultimately, the bohemian aspirations of the founding fathers of both the Yorick and Savage were not to be realised in the long term and both Clubs gradually were to have their spirit reined in as they moved into the twentieth century. Although the bohemian spirit had all but gone by the time they amalgamated in the mid-twentieth century, they had both managed to maintain a raison d'être focussed on the arts and science, consistent with their LSC model. With this similar culture, the membership of the two Clubs combined and merged seamlessly, with two YC members later going on to become President of the MSC[362]. The fact that, over the years, many members belonged to both Clubs and both Clubs were regarded as eccentric, it was not difficult to incorporate the works of the YC into the fabric of the MSC. The YC paintings were by fine artists and of famous individuals. In no way were they inferior to those of the MSC, the only difference being that they were not painted by the members.

[362] Former YC members who later went on to become Presidents of the MSC were High Court Judge, The Honourable Sir Daryl Dawson KBE CB AC (1983-85) and Judge Michael Kelly (2006-08).

The Yorick skull and other items similarly blended in and contributed to the 'sense of place'.

Figure 42 ***Pentland Hills* – Peg Tremills 1957**
This painting is hangs in the Ground Floor Cloak Room

In conclusion, a final merger took place in 1968, a century from the formation of the YC. This was with the Constitutional Club (CC)[363] who, like the YC had also fallen on hard times. At an Extraordinary Meeting of the CC held in December 1968, it was resolved to surrender the club rooms and *inter alia* 'as many members as are willing to do so be recommended to seek membership of the Savage Club.'[364] Although the addition of the forty CC members who elected to join the MSC did not add to its collection, it was to bring a tradition of debate into the Club and introduced the 'Monday Forum' which continues to the current day.

[363] The Constitutional Club was founded in 1925 by Australian Prime Minister, Stanley Melbourne Bruce. It was originally intended as a Club committed to the maintenance of constitutional government and members pledged themselves to throne and empire. By the time of the merger, it had evolved into a 'small-l liberal social club with its major activities debating and public speaking.

[364] Constitutional Club circular (Melbourne Savage Club archives)

CONCLUSION

The research into the significance of the MSC collections has introduced an amount of self-reflection on the relevance of private and single-sex clubs in today's society and reveals how bohemianism, the cornerstone of the Club's foundation philosophy, was itself entrenched as a parallel society, no less exclusive than the grandest high society and decidedly less tolerant of outsiders.

When both clubs were formed it was at a time when the Paris bohemians were influencing young artists and intellectuals worldwide through popular novels[365] released at the time. In Melbourne, artists, writers and musicians were no exception and they embraced the notion of bohemianism as if it was their own. Invariably their activities and eccentric clubs were single-sex, though by no means did they forego liaisons with the fair sex and, in the way of bohemians worldwide, marriage and a home in the suburbs was their ultimate fate.

The period of the formation of the MSC (1894) coincided with an era of nationalism, chauvinism and racism in what was essentially a colonial outpost of Britain, settled primarily by Anglo-Celtic whites in the midst of coloured Asia. This influenced attitudes, and the cry for a 'White Australia' policy was widely accepted by a population who feared the Chinese as threats to their jobs and the exposure to an alien culture. It is little wonder that the lure of Clubs and male-bonding was widespread and that the Clubs adopted prevailing attitudes of the day, as reflected in the fact that the 'smoke nights' of not only the Clubs but also the VAS[366] were always exclusively male. With the MSC containing a high proportion of talented illustrators and cartoonists for *The Bulletin* and other papers it was inevitable that their attitudes would be reflected in their works that entered the collection, leading to a distinctive character to

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[365] The YC's founders were influenced by Henri Murger, *Scénès De La Vie De Bohème*, trans. Elizabeth Ward Hugus (1978 edn., The Hyperion Library of World Literature.; Westport, Conn.: Hyperion Press, 1851) xxi, 306 p. and nearly fifty years later the MSC's founders were similarly attracted to George Du Maurier, *Trilby* (Abbey Classics; London Murrays Abbey Classics, [19--], 1894) 253 p.

[366] The VAS had both male and female members.

the Club with its comprehensive collection of early twentieth century B&W works.

The composition of the membership with its high level of *cultural capital* distinguishes the MSC from other Clubs. The foundation of the MSC in the Arts ensured that it did not need look outside its own talented members to build its collections and most works coming into the collection donated by members were more than likely to be executed by the members themselves, thereby bestowing on the MSC a special connection with the objects.

This thesis is not trying to suggest however that the MSC collection is entirely without direction or curatorial influence. Due to its background, the Club very early on established both Music and Art Sub-Committees, the former to coordinate entertainments for the enjoyment of members and the latter to manage works entering the collection. From time to time, there were monetary bequests made to the MSC by members to purchase artworks however often these were accompanied by a request to purchase works by a particular Club member and, when they weren't, the Art Committee generally still opted for a work by an artist associated with the MSC. Similarly, as the artworks contributed to the décor of the MSC, so did the background in the performing arts dictate the interior fit-out of the Club, with the stages on the Ground and Second Floor levels a manifestation of its origins emanating from a musical society.

Most works within the collection have linkages, not only within the MSC, but also back into Melbourne society. Sometimes these links are illustrative such as the series of menu covers for the club's regular 'Smoke Nights' depicting event happening in Melbourne and famous visitors entertained at the MSC. Others have linkages through various art movements such as 'the Heidelberg School', the 'Bell-Shore School' and 'Twenty Melbourne Painters', groups that met as the MSC such as the AAA and the 'T-Square Club' or through member's mutual employment as cartoonists for *The Bulletin, The Herald* or *The Melbourne Punch*.

This close association with the artworks and other objects making up the MSC's collections has meant that they not merely contributing to décor but they

are representational of the Club's history and its myths. This emotional involvement gives rise to the strong attachment of its community which in turn resists change to the display of its artworks and ensures continuation of its traditions. This has contributed to its ongoing survival virtually unchanged to the present day. However, unlike a National Trust property frozen in time but now maintained through entrance fees, grants and donations by professional historians, heritage experts and conservators, the MSC is still occupied by its original community.

There are many interlinked facets to interpreting the collection and, whilst significance is difficult to quantify due to its subjective nature, it is almost impossible to commence without firstly establishing this solid contextual framework.

Whilst the thesis argues to establish significance to Australian cultural heritage and links items in the collection back to events and attitudes, it is not enough to look in isolation at Melbourne and Australian society over the timeframe. The MSC is, in effect, a mini-society parallel to that of greater Melbourne, and the implications of this and how it has impacted on the collection must be fully appreciated.

Being a 'Gentlemen's Club' has been influential in the MSC's distinctive nature, with a decidedly masculine feel[367] when compared with the corresponding 'Ladies Clubs'[368] who would not have countenanced a display of cartoons and artefacts as a decoration option to a more gentile décor of still-lifes and landscapes. The other Melbourne Clubs do not feature a collection of cartoons or an extensive display of indigenous artefacts, a collection that could only originate in a male dominated environment where its member collectors

[367] The National Trust citation B0436 specifically refers to the MSC as follows: 'The interior is an excellent example of 'masculine' effects, as expected for a men's club, featuring dark timber detailing and furniture and fittings, and comfortable upholstered leather furniture.'

[368] Melbourne's ladies clubs, the Alexandra' and the Lyceum have markedly different interior.

donated works.[369] At the time of Federation, illustrators of newspapers such as *The Bulletin* were invariably male as were colonial administrators and most senior public servants.

The research involved an analysis of the evolution of the culture of the MSC over the course of a century and looked at some of the major events occurring within society at the time which directly and indirectly impacted on the Club. It revealed strong networks, socially, artistically and politically, both within the MSC and outside of it, which included some of the nation's most influential individuals in the arts as well as politics. These influenced the development of an organisation, characterised by high cultural capital and an underlying element of bohemian raffishness embodied in the title of the MSC's centenary history, *Laughter and the Love of Friends*.[370] The fact that the MSC was born out of the Metropolitan Musical Club[371] and boasted a music director and a Club orchestra, ensured that it was always destined to be different from other Melbourne Clubs, hence the first permanent Clubhouse was transformed at the outset to feature a performance stage with footlights and proscenium arch to cater for concerts.

Similarly, with the Club offering discounted membership to artists from 1900, it quickly attracted the State's most talented and eminent artists who were to produce, over the ensuing decades, a galaxy of illustrated menus, programmes and other works for their Club**.**

The analysis of the individual groupings of the MSC collection has illustrated that there is a strong case for significance in each case under the criteria of *Significance 2.0*[372] as collections of objects. Two features peculiar to the collection became apparent as instrumental when judging the 'tangible heritage'

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[369] A major proportion of the Savage collection of New Guinea and Melanesian artefacts was donated by Brigadier General Evan Wisdom, the first administrator of the Mandated Territory of New Guinea.

[370] Johnson and Melbourne Savage Club., *Laughter and the Love of Friends: A Centenary History of the Melbourne Savage Club 1894-1994 and a History of the Yorick Club 1868-1966*.

[371] The Metropolitan Musical Club was founded in Melbourne in the 1880s.

[372] Russell, Winkworth & The Collections Council of Australia, *op cit* at 72.

of the objects; firstly the fact that in nearly every case, the individual objects were closely related to each other and secondly, their significance was enhanced by the 'sense of place' conferred on them by the MSC clubhouse. This 'sense of place' is pervading and directly related to the continuity of use of the place as a clubhouse with traditions, activities and member profile, virtually unchanged since its commencement. It is clear that the intangible heritage values are a major component of heritage values wherein the tangible derives its value from the intangible.[373] In other words, the 'intangible heritage' strengthened the tangible and was an inseparable feature of each of the collections.

This relationship is not surprising and is consistent with the arguments advanced by scholars over a long period. Duclos' argument outlined in Chapter I on the symbolic values of objects being used to construct a notion of place and sense of identity is pertinent to the MSC collection, as is also her argument on the transporting power of the collections to invoke in the viewer a personal encounter with another time and place.[374] The MSC clubhouse acts as a repository of memories, particularly for older members and it has the power to transport them back even beyond their own memory bank where the myths and traditions they inherited on joining now become the myths and traditions that they in turn will pass on to the incoming generation. Pearce suggests that this is a not an unexpected outcome when members unconsciously seek to create a 'satisfactory private universe and to freeze time'[375] and other writers speak of 'a language of longing', the 'insatiable demands of nostalgia'[376] and of 'shelters for memories'[377].

There are a number of features of the MSC which further strengthen its heritage significance; the first of which is its private nature. This has the effect of

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[373] Refer to Smith's argument in Smith, *Uses of Heritage* at 1-7.

[374] Refer Duclos' argument in: Knell, *Museums and the Future of Collecting* at 48-60.

[375] Pearce, SM (ed.) 1994, *Interpreting objects and collections*, Leicester readers in museum studies., Routledge, London ; New York. p. 201

[376] Stewart, S 1984, *On longing: narratives of the miniature, the gigantic, the souvenir, the collection*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore. p. 135

[377] Paardekooper, '*Evoking the Past, Shaping the Future* ', (at 8.

allowing its' collections to remain free of the interference of bureaucracies as might be the case with museums and for the works to be displayed in the same condition as when they were first developed. Pearce's observations, referred to in Chapter I, emphasise the significance of the works of long-standing intact privately-owned collections, where, unfettered by regulation or the need to organise collections so as to interpret for a public, their works can retain the same idiosyncratic display as first envisaged.[378] This lack of fragmentation of the collection and the fact that so little has been de-accessioned over the decades has been an important contributing factor to both the MSC's tangible and intangible heritage value and it is a major factor leading to its distinctiveness.

Another distinguishing feature of the MSC collection is the fact that the vast majority of the fine art segments of the collection of paintings and drawings and sculpture have been executed by the members themselves.[379] This particularly applies to the portraiture where, in most cases, both the painter and the subject have both been members, a very uncommon and distinguishing feature. In the case of a 'member' viewer there is often a pre-existing relationship with both painter and subject, conveying a special relationship to the picture and importing a special intangible quality to the collection.

Susan Pearce is one of many scholars emphasising the function of objects operating as *signs* or *symbols* which, when deciphered, provide an insight into ourselves.[380] Others, most notably Taborsky and Baudrillard[381], similarly talk of the exotic or mythological object; however they are careful to caution that

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[378] Susan M. Pearce, *Art in Museums* (New Research in Museum Studies: An International Series; London; Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Athlone, 1995) ix, 292 p. at 94-116.

[379] An analysis of the works showed that 87% had been either painted, drawn or sculpted by the members or somebody closely related to them (e.g. Norman Lindsay, bother of MSC member, Sir Daryl Lindsay and YC member Sir Lionel Lindsay)

[380] Susan Pearce, '*Objects as meaning; or narrating the past*' in Pearce, SM 1990, *op cit* pp. 125-40 and Pearce (ed.), *Interpreting Objects and Collections* at 21-25.Pearce, SM (ed.), *Interpreting objects and collections* (Leicester readers in museum studies.; London ; New York: Routledge, 1994). at 21-25

[381] *ibid*,. pp. 79-80

more often its signs are meaningful only within a specific social group, which, in the case of the MSC, translates to membership of the Club.

The first observation from the study was the distinctiveness of the collections both individually and in aggregate. With respect to the collection of portraits and caricatures, for instance, the fact that the artists of portraits in the collection represented the winners of over two dozen Archibald Prizes[382] for portraiture and that their subjects for the prize, more often than not were other MSC members, displays a complex network of elaborate linkages. The strong domination of Savage artists in the early years of the Archibald speaks as much about the conservative nature of portraiture at this time and highlights the concentration of leading society artists within the MSC. It also illustrate how quickly the young bohemians who founded the YC and MSC evolved in the space of a few decades into respectable members of society. Not only had they become part of the Melbourne establishment but their Club had established itself as the leading Club in Australia associated with the arts. The saving grace for the artist, musician and writer members however was always the fact that other the MSC members also valued the features that set the Club aside from the more conservative Clubs; the fact that they represented 'worth' rather than 'birth' or 'wealth' as the overriding criterion for their membership. The collections of the MSC, and the tangible ambience that they conveyed, were always an important aspect of the Club however the intangible myths, traditions, culture and 'sense of place' were the feature most valued by members.

A major feature that distinguishes the MSC collection from the other city Clubs is that there was very little rotation or "churn" of the works over time. The MSC membership not only strongly resisted paintings and artefacts leaving the collection but they also even opposed relocation of works within the Club premises. There was always a reason why a work hung in a particular place and

[382] The Archibald Prize is Australia's foremost award for portraiture and has been run annually by the Art Gallery of New South Wales since the first prize in 1921, awarded to Savage member, William Beckworth McInnes.

sometimes this was aesthetics and sometimes it was 'legend'[383] or a condition of a bequest. A picture had to hang in a certain location simply because it had always hung there. Another reason for the works staying within the collection was the fact most were either by members themselves or somebody closely associated with the Club. This contrasts with other Melbourne clubs who have substantial art budgets and acquire art for decoration and prestige, not tradition, and conseqently they have no hesitation in deaccessioning works in favour of other superior works by the same or different artists, mostly with no links to the particular Club.

A Living Community

Much relevance has been made of the number of artist members in the MSC and the lasting effect that this has had both on the culture of the Club and the nature of the collection. To describe the MSC's interior and the collection display as aesthetically distinctive is an understatement under any criterion. The sheer volume of fine art works and drawings is directly attributed to the high proportion of artist members,[384] whose numbers were particularly strong in the early part of the twentieth century, declining in the latter half of the twentieth century, and now achieving record levels in terms of numbers in the early twenty-first century.

This feature of being a living community is possibly the most important criterion when looking at significance, as 'place' increasingly becomes recognised as an important contributor to the values espoused in the *Burra Charter* and *Significance 2.0*, namely 'aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for past, present or future generations'. The review of these criteria in the more recent *ICOMOS New Zealand Charter 2010* supports the approach recommended by Smith and adopted by the researcher in that the role of the intangible in cultural heritage value is more defined. This was outlined in Chapter II however it is important to represent it as the basis of the argument

[383] Myth-making has always been a pass-time of some of the older members of the Club and eventually the myths morph via 'Chinese whispers' into legends or traditions.

[384] Although the Melbourne Savage Club has always maintained strong membership of artists, numbers peaked at 8% of membership in 1920.

in relation to the MSC clubhouse and collections. Under the criteria of the *New Zealand Charter*, places of cultural heritage value are identified as those which have lasting values which inform us about the past and the cultures of those who came before us. In so doing, they provide tangible evidence of the continuity between past, present, and future and underpin and reinforce community identity and relationships to past generations, in the process providing a measure against which the achievements of the present can be compared.[385]

Davison refers to Chris Johnston, when she argues about the nature of communities' connection to places they recognise and value. 'Social value is not about the past or about social history, but about peoples' connections to places in the *present*. Such places are important because they are 'recognised' by insiders rather than 'identified' by outsiders, and for the way they express and reinforce tradition rather than what they disclose about the past.'[386]

What makes the Clubhouse important is not as a registered building but as a *document*, capable of contributing to a critical understanding of the past. 'The attentive social historian must take pains to understand the techniques, material and architectural history of those who constructed the building as well as the codes of behaviour and way of life of those who occupied or used it.'[387] 'Buildings are capable of revealing our ancestors, not only through their conscious symbolism but through their unstated social assumptions.'[388]

Davison, expands on this when he realistically observes that 'heritage …. ,by its very nature, is an unstable and contested idea'[389] and maintains the importance

[385] Refer to the criteria listed in Chapter V. *ICOMOS New Zealand Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Heritage Value*, ICOMOS New Zealand Charter 2010 at 1

[386] Paraphrased from: Chris Johnston and Australian Heritage Commission., '*What Is Social Value? : A Discussion Paper*', *Technical publications series* (Canberra: Australian Govt. Public Service, 1992), vi, 33 p.

[387] Graeme Davison, *The Use and Abuse of Australian History* (St. Leonards, N.S.W.: Allen & Unwin, 2000b) vii, 326 p. at 141.

[388] Ibid., at 142.

[389] Graeme Davison, *The Use and Abuse of Australian History* (St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2000a) at 130.

of history lies in its ability to reinforce bonds of solidarity in the present by recognising a sense of continuity in the past.[390]

Johnston speaks of places having a ‘‘community of interest’ – a group of people who value the place and for whom it has special meaning.’[391] Sometimes, as is the case with the MSC, this social value is based in part on the Club’s historical attachment to the place, embodying it with both heritage and historic values. In cases like the MSC, where cultural identity is closely connected to place, she argues that it is important for communities to remain viable and stable.

The Argument supporting Significance

Much of the distinctiveness of the collection can be directly attributed to its genesis as a bohemian club in Australasia and the fact its early members included so many of Australia’s leaders in the performing and visual arts. This association has brought into the Club’s collection, works from the ‘Heidelberg School’ artists, Tom Roberts, Frederick McCubbin and Sir Arthur Streeton and the early Modernists, George Bell and Arnold Shore. It also had links to Australia’s earliest challenges as a nation and the majority of official war artists in the First World War were members of the MSC and many have works featured in the Club’s collection.

One of the great features of the MSC is its large B&W collection of menu covers and ‘smoke concert’ posters. The artists who created these included arguably the World’s greatest cartoonists of the time[392], Phil May, Hop and Low along with those of popular local-born cartoonists Alf Vincent, Norman Lindsay, Charles Nuttall, Alex Gurney[393] and James Bancks[394].

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[390] *ibid* at 264

[391] Johnston and Australian Heritage Commission., '*What Is Social Value? : A Discussion Paper*', at 12.

[392] Phil May, from England, Livingston Hopkins (Hop), from the United States, and (Sir) David Low, from New Zealand (and later resident in England) were all employed by *The Bulletin* Both May and Hop joined the YC and Low was active in the Savage during his four years in Melbourne, leaving many menus covers in the collection.

[393] Alex Gurney was famous for the long-running cartoon strip *Bluey and Curley*.

[394] James Bancks developed the popular cartoon character *Ginger Meggs*.

Another factor which contributes to the depth of the MSC's collection is its long association with artistic organisations and clubs who chose to meet in the MSC such as the T-Square Club[395] and the Australian Academy of Art[396]. Many works by these artists entered the collection, including works by interstate AAA board members, painters, Sir Hans Heyson and Henry Fullwood and these strengthened the representation of works by the leading Australian artists of the early twentieth century.

The photographic collection is small but focussed and a major feature is the individual portraits of twelve eminent Savage artists taken in their studios by Jack Cato. Another highlight of the collection is the Prof. Sir Baldwin Spencer photographs of indigenous Australians dating from the late nineteenth century. Not only does this represent a valuable and rare record of tribal Australian aborigines but most of the photos are featured in the Club's Billiard Room where there is a large display of ethnographic artefacts dating from the same period and which complement and add *gravitas* to each other.

The portraits in the Club's Long Room and other areas of the Club are examples of Australia's foremost traditional portrait painters[397] of the early twentieth century thesis and their most distinctive feature is the fact that so many were painted by member artists and gifted to the Club.

The networks which operated through the MSC were both social and political. The key leaders of the United Australia Party were Savage members, including Prime Ministers, William Morris Hughes, Sir Robert Menzies and Joseph Lyons, with Menzies and Kingsley Henderson largely responsible for the other two defecting from Labor to the conservative side of politics and joining the MSC. These links add distinction to the Club and the irreverent caricatures of

[395] The T-Square Club comprising some of Victoria's most eminent architects and artists has been meeting in the MSC since 1900. The majority of its members were also members of the MSC.

[396] Refer to discussion on the Academy, Chapter IV, pages 132-142 and Chapter VI, pages 174-179.

[397] Refer to Chapter VI which profiles some of the portraits in the collection. Between W. B. McInnes, Sir John Longstaff and Sir William Dargie alone they were recipient of twenty Archibald Prizes, Australia's premier art prize for portraiture.

Hughes[398] and Menzies which are featured in the collection are not likely to be countenanced in any other organisation than the Savage.

Finally, the famous artefact collection must be mentioned as a major feature of the MSC, displayed on historic 'chicken-wire' and timber frame panels it dominates the interior of Social Room, stairway and Billiard Room. Comprising over one thousand pieces, it has been described as one of the Worlds' most significant collections in private hands[399] and it is the most distinctive feature to most first-time visitors to the MSC.

Concluding Comments

Summing up, the MSC clubhouse and its collections are distinctive for two important reasons; firstly it has operated continuously as a Club in the same premises for nearly a century and secondly, its membership possesses a high degree of cultural capital, especially in the visual and performing arts. This foundation in the arts has had a number of direct effects. Firstly its association with musicians and actors has not only determined the transformation of the premises to meet their aspirations, incorporating a performance stage as a focal for concerts and music events, but the Club has a established a tradition in performance which carries through until the present day. Secondly, the strong representation of Australia's foremost artists from the outset has ensured a large collection of works throughout the Clubhouse, not the least an impressive collection of illustrated B&W concert programmes and menu covers which dominate the Main Dining Room. From its inception, the MSC has forged a distinct identity from other Australian Clubs and it has few peers worldwide.[400]

Photographs included within this thesis illustrate the distinctive nature of the interior and support its citation from Heritage Victoria (HV) on aesthetic and

[398] Hughes was caricatured by (Sir) David Low and (Sir) Daryl Lindsay.

[376] Statement by John Friede, owner of the Jolika Collection, the World's largest and most valuable private collection of New Guinea artefacts.

[400] The Bristol Savage Club in the UK, located in an Elizabethan lodge, has a similar tradition in art and music and boasts an impressive 'Wigwam' featuring two grand pianos. It only operates weekly however and although of a similar culture it lacks the cohesiveness and cultural depth of the MSC. Other 'Arts' Clubs are generally either focussed on the visual or the performing arts, not both.

architectural grounds alone. Certainly there are no other Club premises in Australasia which boast a performance stage in their main Social Room or feature ceiling punkahs in their Main Dining Room. The Club has a colonial feel about its interior, reminiscent of the gentlemen's clubs of London, which were its inspiration. It is of another era and a legacy of the strong sentiment which existed at the time towards England, the 'Mother Country'. The fact that HV citation makes special mention of the Clubhouse as a surviving example of a (London) townhouse also adds to its distinctiveness.

The object of the research was *inter alia* to establish the MSC's collection as significant to Australia's cultural heritage. This was expanded to incorporate the Club interior in the assessment as it contributes to the context of the collections and vice versa. During the course of the research it became apparent that there were strong grounds to support this 'significance' based on the AHD of the *Burra Charter* and *Significance 2.0*. What also emerged, and is more important, was that the heritage significance was more embedded in the intangible than the more obvious tangible heritage of the objects. The values of continuity of use espoused so strongly in the *New Zealand Charter* seemed compelling, especially when tracking the culture of the MSC through its archives. It seemed that here was a community who had retained its strong artistic traditions and cultural integrity through generations without compromise. The MSC's preservation of its cultural values seemed entirely consistent with what the draftspersons of the *New Zealand Charter* had in mind.

Examples are given in this document in support of the tangible heritage values, consistent with the AHD as reflected in the *Burra Charter* and *Significance 2.0.* The fact that the MSC already possesses a heritage listing through Heritage Victoria recognises some of the above but also recognises of great importance 'the contribution of the combined clubs to the artistic, literary and social development of Victoria.'[401] The history of the MSC is reflected on its walls and the Club boasts the first Australian knighted for services to music, Sir Bernard Heinze, and the first Australian knighted for services to art, Sir John

[401] Heritage Victoria, '*Victoria Heritage Database: H0025*', (Melbourne: HeritageVictoria).

Longstaff, and the maker of the World's first full-length feature film, Charles Tait.[402] The achievements of these members and their close involvement with the MSC and YC created a legacy of the depth of 'cultural capital' which has abounded in the Club since its inception.

The interior, without doubt, is extraordinarily distinctive and significant, a fact recognised formally by the City of Melbourne,[403] the National Trust[404], Heritage Victoria and the National Estate, who all drew particular attention to its' 'atmospheric interior' in their citations.

The significance of the MSC collection is possibly best summed up by Smith and Waterton in their observations about the intertangibility of all heritage, at the crux of which is the role of heritage in validating individual and collective senses of place for communities. To them, heritage is not simply about identity but of creating and maintaining a sense of *place* and placing ourselves in that place.[405] Smith's position, that all heritage is intangible notwithstanding the fact that often it may incorporate tangible manifestation in the form of an object or place, holds true for the MSC and its collections as the single most important contributor to its heritage significance.

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[402] Charles Tait's film *The Story of the Kelly Gang* was screened was screened on 26 December 1906 in Melbourne's Athenaeum Theatre. Charles Tait, and three of his four brothers, John Henry, James Nevin and (Sir) Frank Samuel, were all early members of the MSC. Their theatrical company, J. & N. Tait, merged in 1920 with the JC Williamson Film Company to form the largest theatrical company in Australasia.

[403] In 1984 the MSC was given a B Grading under the Melbourne City Council Conservation Study for 'being of social and historical significance for its associations with the Melbourne Savage Club'.

[404] National Trust of Australia (Victoria) citation number B0436 dated 07/02/2000 refers to the Melbourne Savage Club as being of 'State Significance'.

[405] Refer to discussion in Smith and Akagawa (eds.), *Intangible Heritage* at 292,3.

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APPENDIX I SAVAGE ARTISTS

Melbourne Savage Club

AISBET, John Carnegie *(1943-1965)*

ANDERSON, William Wallace *(1925-1929)*

ANNOIS, Leonard Lloyd (1948-1967)

ARMSTRONG, Bruce Ian *(2003-)*

BANCKS, James Charles *(1926-1943)*

BARNETT, Walter *(1895- ?)*

BARTLETT, Geoffrey *(2007-)*

BEAUMONT, David Thomas *(2008-)*

BELL, George Frederick Henry OBE *(1924-1929)*

BENSON, George Courtney *(1913-1936)*

BILLSON, Edward Fielder *(2005-2009)*

BOUSFIELD, Peter *(1932-1936)*

BOYD, Theodore Penleigh *(1919-1923)*

BROWN, Montague *(1909-1924)*

CAREW-SMYTH, Ponsby May, *(1925-1940)*

COLQUHOUN, Alexander *(1900-1904)*

CONNELLY, Dennis *(1920-1947)*

COX, Dale Andrew *(2001-)*

CROZIER, Francis Rossiter *(1920-1930)*

DANCEY, George E. *(1902-1923)*

DARGIE, Sir William Alexander *(1942-1978) (1982-2003)*

de GARIS, Peter Clement *(2006-)*

DAVIES, Ernest H. *(1895-?) (1929-1933)*

DILLON, Cyril *(1920-1974)*

DUDLEY, Rodney Oliver *(2012-)*

DYSON, William Henry *(1925-1938)*

EPSTEIN, Dr. Michael *(2002-)*

EWERS, Raymond Boultwood *(1948-1963)*

FAIR, Fraser *(2002-2007)*

FINLAY, Edgar *(1925-1930)*

FRASER, Edward *(1903-1906)*

GORDON, Jack G. *(1901*

GREENHALGH, Victor Edward *(1959-1983)*

GURNEY, Alexander George *(1930-1936)*

GYE, Harold Frederick Neville *(1918-1922)*

HARRISON, Harry William Bromlow *(1917-1949)*

HERBERT, Harold Brocklebank *(1918-1945)*

HILL, Robin *(1968-)*

HODGKINSON, Roy Cecil *(1943-1992)*

HOWLEY, John Richard *(1993-)*

HOBBS, Leigh *(2010-)*

HUNT, Anderson *(2010-)*

JONES, Peter Loftus Vernon *(1969-)*

JONES, Vernon Samuel Charles *(1948-2002)*

KATHNER, Paul Francis *(1995-)*

KNIGHT, Mark Warren *(1998-)*

KING, Martin Joseph *(2010-)*

KLOSE, Dr Simon McLaren *(1999-)*

LAING, Alec *(1904-1913)*

LEASON, Percival Alexander *(1916-1922) (1934-1937)*

LEWIS, Robert Andrew Calloway *(1978-)*

LINDSAY, Sir (Ernest) Daryl *(1919-1954)*

LONGSTAFF, Sir John Campbell, Kt *(1900-1922) (1929-1932)*

LOW, Sir David Alexander Cecil *(1915-1924)*

MAKIN, Jeffery *(1987-)*

MATHER, John *(1900-1901)*

McCRAE, George Gordon *(190-1905)*

McCUBBIN, Charles Wilson *(1969*

McCUBBIN, Frederick *(1900-1906) (1914-1917)*

McCUBBIN, Louis OBE *(1920-1953)*

MacDONALD, James Stuart *(1910-1933)*

McGANN, Peter Dereck *(1994-)*

MacGEORGE, Norman *(1906- ?) (1919-1921)*

McINNES, William Beckworth *(1934*

McINTOSH, Ross *(1993-)*

McNALLY, Mathew James *(1903-1920)*

MILLER, Lewis *(2002)*

MILLS, Peter *(2002-)*

MONTFORD, Paul Raphael *(1933-1938)*

NEDELKOPOLIS, Dr. Nicholas *(2002-)*

NEWELL, Robert Clarence *(1909-1920)*

NUTTALL, Charles *(1903-1912)*

OUTTRIM, Cecil *(1918-1928)*

OFFICER, Edward Charles *(1911-1922)*

PANTON, Joseph Alexander CMG *(1895-1909)*

PATERSON, John Ford *(1900-1913)*

PATERSON, Hugh *(1900-1918)*

PENDELBURY, Laurence Scott *(1961-1980)*

PERCY, William Stratford *(1912-1947)*

QUINN, James Peter *(1900-1913)*

REID, Iain *(2004-2009)*

REYNOLDS, Leonard Frank *(1929-1940)*

ROBERTS, Thomas William *(1901-1904)*

ROBINSON, Cyril Maxwell *(1996-2013)*

ROWELL, William Nicholas *(1933-1947)*

SANCIOLO, Bart *(2008-)*

SAVAGE, Richard Andrew *(2008-)*

SCHALLER, Mark *(2002-)*

SHORE, Arnold Joseph Victor *(1958-1963)*

SIBLEY, Andrew *(2010-11)*

SINCLAIR, Clive *(2011-)*

SMITH, Damian (2013-)

STREETON, Sir Arthur Ernest, Kt *(1907-1940)*

SUMNER, Alan Robert Melbourne MBE *(1949-1994)*

TAINSCH, William A. (Bill) *(1906-1967)*

TAYLER, LAWRENCE B. *(?)*

TIGHE, Martin *(2010-)*

TROMPF, Percival Albert, (Percy) *(1947-1954)*

VINCENT, Alfred James *(1900-1916)*

WALKER, Murray Edward *(2007-)*

WALLER, Mervyn Napier CMG OBE *(1926-1972)*

WALSH, Peter *(2002-2009)*

WARNER, Ralph Malcolm *(1940-1961)*

WARREN, Alan Edwin *(1956-1980)*

WATERHOUSE, John Latham *(1977-2011)*

WAUGH, Joseph Henry (Hal) *(1903-1907)*

WEGNER, Peter Leslie *(2007-)*

WESTON, Henry John (Harry) *(1924-1927)*

WESTWOOD, William *(1909-1920)*

WHEELER, Charles Arthur OBE DCM *(1911-1977)*

WHITE, James S. *(1903-1919)*

WILLINGHAM, Alan Frederick *(1991-)*

WILLOUGHBY, George *(1900-1921)*

WILSON, H. Stuart *(1896-1910)*

WITHERS, Walter Herbert *(1900-1914)*

YOUNG, William Blamire *(1900-?) (1927-1932)*

Yorick Club

CARRINGTON, Francis Thomas Dean *(1869-1916)*

DARGIE, Sir William Alexander *(1954-1966)*

DURKIN, Thomas

HERBERT, Harold Brocklebank *(joined 1924)*

JONES, Vernon Samuel Charles *(1949-1966)*

LINDSAY, Sir Lionel *(joined 1935)*

LONGSTAFF, Sir John Campbell, Kt *(joined 1924)*

McCRAE, George Gordon *(joined 1869)*

MacDONALD, James Stuart *(joined 1937)*

McNALLY, Mathew James *(1920-1944)*

NESBITT, Sydney P. *(1911-20)*

PANTON, Joseph Alexander CMG *(joined 1869)*

ROBERTS, Thomas William *(1923-1931)*

STREETON, Sir Arthur Ernest, Kt *(joined 1924)*

VINCENT, Alfred James *(1909-1913)*

Yorick: Honorary members (visitor's book)

BARRAND, Chas. *(elected 16-12-1888)*

BENDISSY, Edward *(elected 24-8-1888)*

BOWEW, L. *(elected 23-6-1888)*

DYSON, William Henry, *(gave London address)*

GOODEN, H. *(elected 8-9-1888)*

HOPKINS, Livingstone *(elected 5-11-1888)*

MAY, Philip William *(elected 17-6-1888)*

SCHNARS-ALQUIST, Carl Wilhelm Hugo *(elected 8-9-1888)*

STREETON, Sir Arthur Ernest, Kt., *(gave London address)*

Melbourne Savage & Yorick Clubs

DARGIE, Sir William Alexander

HERBERT, Harold Brocklebank

JONES, Vernon Samuel Charles

LONGSTAFF, Sir John Campbell, Kt

McCRAE, George Gordon

MacDONALD, James Stuart

McNALLY, Mathew James

PANTON, Joseph Alexander CMG

ROBERTS, Thomas William

STREETON, Sir Arthur Ernest, Kt.

VINCENT, Alfred James

APPENDIX II CHRONOLOGY

1894

Melbourne Savage Club formed.

Fine art dealer William Henry Gill joins the MSC.

1895

First Artist, Joseph Alexander Panton CMG, joins the MSC.

Artist, Ernest H. Davies joins the MSC.

Artist, Tom Roberts, is elected first President of Sydney's new Society of Artists.

Photographer, Walter Barnett, joins the MSC.

The (professional) Society of Artists splits from the Royal Art Society in Sydney. (Roberts and Streeton were on the first council)

1896

Artist, H. Stuart Wilson, joins the MSC.

Artist, Tom Roberts is elected President of the Society of Artists.

1897

Artist, Walter Withers wins the first Wynne Prize with his painting 'The Storm'.

1998

Bulletin engraver Fred Mason joins the MSC

1899

1900

Special general Meeting of MSC resolves to admit artists and sculptors without payment of entrance fee

Artists: Alexander Colquhoun, Percy Leason, John Longstaff, John Mather, Frederick McCubbin, John Ford Paterson, Hugh Paterson, James Quinn, Tom Roberts, Walter Withers, George Willoughby, Alf Vincent and Blamire Young join MSC.

1930

Black and White Artist, Alex Gurney joins the MSC.

William McInnes wins his sixth Archibald Prize with his portrait of Drum-Major Harry McClelland.

Sir Arthur Streeton nominates Sir Lionel Lindsay for the YC.

1931

Savage Artist, Sir John Longstaff wins his third Archibald Prize with his portrait of Sir John Sulman.

1932

Artist, George Bousfield joins the MSC.

Savage Artist, George Bell and Arnold Shore form the Shore-Bell School of Art.

Savage Artist, Charles Wheeler wins the Crouch Prize.

1933

Sculptor, Paul Montford joins the Melbourne Savage Club.

Artist, William Rowell joins the MSC Former Savage, Keith Murdoch is appointed editor-in-Chief of the Melbourne Herald

MSC Artist, Charles Wheeler wins the Archibald Prize with his portrait of Savage, Ambrose Pratt.

MSC Artist, Arch. Colquhoun wins the Crouch Prize

Tom Robert's biographer, journalist, Robert Henderson Croll, joins the MSC

MSC Artist, Will Dyson becomes Chairman of the Chelsea Arts Club.

'Ben Bowyang, a CJ Dennis creation, is launched drawn by Alex Gurney.

1934

Artist, William Beckworth. McInnes joins the MSC

Artist, Percy Leason rejoins the MSC.

Savage Artist, Charles Wheeler wins his second Crouch Prize.

1900 (Cont'd)

Savage Artist, Walter Withers wins his second Wynne Prize with his painting 'Still Autumn'.

'T-Square Club' formed as an association of artists and architects.

Harold Desbrowe-Annear (first President of T-Square Club) proposed for MSC membership by Alf Vincent and William H. Gill (membership not taken up).

1901

Artists, Clarence Newell and Jack Gordon join MSC.

1902

Artists, George Dancey, and Harry Recknell join the MSC.

Artist, James White wins the Wynne Prize with 'In Defence of the Flat' (bronze group).

MSC Artist, Alf Vincent designs the Savage 'crest'.

Sculptor, James White wins the Wynne Prize (with a sculpture).

1903

Artists, Edward Fraser, Mathew McNally, Charles Nuttall, Hal Waugh, Charles Wheeler & Sculptor, James White join the MSC.

Savage Artist, Frederick McCubbin is elected President of the VAS.

1904

Artist, Alec Laing joins the MSC

Savage Artist, Alexander Colquhoun becomes secretary of the VAS (1904-1910).

1905

Savage Artist, Tom Roberts joins the LSC.

1906

Artist, Will Tainsch joins the MSC.

Savage Artist, Tom Roberts becomes President of the Chelsea Arts Club.

1907

Artist, Arthur Streeton joins the MSC.

1935

MSC Artist, Sir John Longstaff wins his fifth Archibald Prize with his portrait of A. B. (Banjo) Patterson.

MSC Artist, William Rowell wins the Melbourne Centenary Art Prize.

MSC Artist, William Beckworth McInnes is appointed Director of the National Gallery of Victoria.

MSC artist, W. B. McInnes is appointed drawing master at the National Gallery School.

1936

Photographer, Jack Cato joins the MSC.

MSC Artist, William McInnes wins his seventh Archibald Prize with his portrait of Dr Julian Smith.

MSC artist, Charles Wheeler succeeds W. B. McInnes as drawing master at the National Gallery School.

Former MSC Artist and YC artist, James S. MacDonald is appointed director of the NGV (1936-1943)

1937

Savage, Sir Robert Menzies, formally launched the Australian Academy of Art on 19 June 1937.

MSC artist, Ponsby May Carew-Smyth, is appointed acting Director of the NGV.

1938

Artist, Arnold Shore wins the Crouch Prize.

Editor, Peter Bellew joins the MSC.

1939

Former Savage, Keith Murdoch is appointed Chairman of the Melbourne Herald

Former Savage, Keith Murdoch, organises the 1939 Herald Exhibition of French and British Contemporary Art. (The exhibition in Melbourne was organised by MSC member Peter Bellew).

Conservative MSC Artist, Charles Wheeler, is appointed painting master and head of the National Gallery School Painting and Drawing Schools.

MSC Artist, Daryl Lindsay, appointed 'keeper of the prints' at the NGV.

1908

Artist, Montague Brown joins the MSC

Frederick McCubbin, John Mather and Walter Withers resign from the VAS to form the Australian Art Association.

MSC Artist, Arthur Streeton, wins the Gold Medal at the Paris Salon.

1909

Artist, William Westwood joins the MSC.

1910

Artist, James Stuart MacDonald joins the MSC.

Fine Art Dealer, W.H. Gill sets up a fund to acquire art for the Club.

1911

Artists, Edward Cairns Officer & Charles Wheeler join the MSC

1912

Artist and Printmaker, William. Stratford Percy joins the MSC.

MSC Artists, Frederick McCubbin, Walter Withers and John Mather instrumental in the formation of the Australian Art Association with Savage, Edward Officer as first President.

MSC artist, Hugh Paterson is instrumental in founding the Commonwealth Art Advisory Board.

1913

Artist, George Benson joins the MSC.

1914

Artist, Frederick McCubbin rejoins the MSC.

Artist, Penleigh Boyd wins the Wynne Prize with his painting 'Landscape'.

1915

Black and White Artist, David Low joins the MSC

1916

Artist, Percy Leason joins the MSC

1917

Artist, Harry Harrison joins the MSC

William McInnes appointed as teacher of

1939 (Cont'd)

Savage Artist, William Rowell wins the Crouch Prize

Fairfax installs Savage, Peter Bellew, as editor of Art in Australia (1939-42)

Savage, Peter Bellew, founds the Contemporary Art Society (Sydney)

Savage, Peter Bellew, appointed art critic for the Sydney Morning Herald (1939-42)

1940

1941

Artist, William Dargie wins his first Archibald Prize with his portrait of Sir James Elder KBE.

MSC Artist, James Quinn wins the Crouch Prize .

MSC artist Daryl Lindsay appointed director of the NGV.

1942

Artists, William Dargie and Ralph Warner join the MSC

MSC Artist, William Dargie wins his second Archibald Prize with his portrait of Corporal Jim Gordon VC.

MSC Artist, Daryl Lindsay is appointed Director of the National Gallery of Victoria.

MSC Artist, William Rowell wins his second Crouch Prize.

1943

Black and White Artist, Roy Hodgkinson joins the MSC.

Former MSC Artist, James S. MacDonald is appointed art critic for the Age (1943-1947).

Art dealer, William R. Sedon joins the MSC (Sedon Gallery).

1944

1945

MSC Artist, William Dargie wins his third Archibald Prize with his portrait of Lt-General The Hon Edmund Herring, KBC, DSO, MC, ED.

Charles Wheeler DSM becomes the first artist elected President of the MSC (1945-7).

drawing at the National Gallery School.

1917 (Cont'd)

MSC Artist, Daryl Lindsay appointed medical draftsman with the rank of lieutenant.

Twenty Melbourne Painters formed.

1918

Artists, Hal Gye, Harold Herbert & Cecil Outtrim join the MSC.

Artist, William McInnes wins the Wynne Prize with his painting 'Grey Road'.

Exhibition 'War and Peace' opens at Burlington House (London) featuring Savage war artists.

MSC artist Charles Wheeler was appointed drawing master at the Gallery School.

1919

Artists, Penleigh Boyd & Daryl Lindsay join the MSC

Artist Group, 'Twenty Melbourne Painters' formed.

1920

Artists, Dennis Connelly, Frank Crozier, Cyril Dillon & Louis McCubbin join the MSC.

Savage, Keith Arthur Murdoch is appointed editor-in-Chief of the Melbourne Herald

MSC Artist, M J McNally resigns from the MSC and joins the YC.

MSC and YC member JS MacDonald establishes the 'New Gallery' in Melbourne

1921

Artist, William McInnes wins the first Archibald Prize with his portrait of architect, Desbrowe Annear.

1922

William McInnes wins the second Archibald Prize with his portrait of Prof. Anderson Moore

1923

William McInnes wins the third Archibald

1946

MSC Artist, William Dargie wins his fourth Archibald Prize with his portrait of LC Robson MC MA.

The MSC donates a prize for a section in the "Australia at War" exhibition.

1947

MSC Artist, William Dargie wins his fifth Archibald Prize with his portrait of Sir Marcus Clarke KBE

Artist, P. Alexander Trompf joins the MSC.

MSC establishes an Art Fund

1948

Artists, Leonard Annois & Vernon Jones join the MSC

Savage Artist, Ralph Warner wins the second Crouch Prize (for best watercolour or etching)

Sculptor, Raymond Boultwood Ewers joins the MSC.

YC Art Fund established.

1949

Artist, Alan Sumner joins the MSC Savage Artist, Len Annois wins the third Crouch Prize

Savage Artist, Vernon Jones joins the YC.

Artist, Arnold Shore rejoins the VAS.

The Victorian Sculptors association formed with Victor Greenhalgh as first president.

1950

Savage Artist, William Dargie wins his sixth Archibald Prize with his portrait of Sir Lesley McConnan.

Savage Artist, Len Annois wins the fourth Crouch Prize.

1951

Savage Artist, Charles Wheeler DSM is awarded the OBE for services to art

1952

Savage Artist, William Dargie wins his seventh Archibald Prize with his portrait of Mr Essington Lewis CH

YC Art Prize established.

Prize with his Portrait of a Lady

1923 (Cont'd)

MSC Artist, Penleigh Boyd stages the 'European Art Exhibition for Australia' at the Athenaeum Hall, Melbourne

Former MSC artist, Tom Roberts, joins the Yorick Club

1924

Artists, George Bell & Harry Weston joins the MSC

Savage, Keith Murdoch, joins the YC.

William McInnes wins his fourth Archibald Prize with his Portrait of Miss Collins

Savage Artists, John Longstaff and Arthur Streeton join the YC

1925

Artists, Will Dyson and Edgar Finlay join the MSC

Sculptors, Wallace Anderson, Wallace Brown, and Ponsby May Carew-Smyth join the MSC

John Longstaff wins the fifth Archibald Prize with his portrait of Maurice Moscovitch

The MSC sets up an art Union to purchase Australian art.

1926

Artists, James Bancks & Napier Waller join the MSC

William McInnes wins his fifth Archibald Prize with his portrait 'skill and Lace'

1927

Artist, Blamire Young joins the MSC

Savage Artist, Charles Wheeler is appointed assistant instructor in drawing at the National Gallery School

1928

William McInnes wins the eighth Archibald Prize with his Portrait of Dr Alexander Leeper

MSC Artist, Arthur Streeton wins the Wynne Prize with his painting 'Afternoon Light, Goulburn Valley'.

1953

First Yorick Art Prize awarded.

MSC Artist, Alan Sumner appointed Director of the National Gallery School

1954

MSC Artist, William Dargie joins the YC.

Vernon Jones portrait of Yorick steward, John Breen, is exhibited in the Archibald Prize **.**

1955

MSC Artist, Ralph Warner wins his second Crouch Prize

1956

MSC Artist, William Dargie wins his eighth Archibald Prize with his portrait of Albert Namajira

Laurie Scott Pendelbury wins the Wynne Prize for landscape with 'The Chicory Kiln, Phillip Island'

MSC Artist, Daryl Lindsay is knighted for services to Australian Art.

1957

Laurie Scott Pendelbury wins his second Wynne Prize for landscape with 'Constitution Dock, Hobart'

Savage Artist, Arnold Shore commences as art critic for The Age

1958

Artist, Arnold Shore joins the MSC..

MSC Artist, Alan Warren wins the Crouch Prize.

MSC Artist, Len Annois, becomes the first Australian elected a full member of the 'Royal Society of Painters in Watercolour'.

1959

Artist, Victor Greenhalgh joins the MSC.

1960

MSC Artist, Len Annois, becomes President of the National Gallery Society

1961

Savage Artist, Len Annois, wins the Wynne Trustees' Watercolour Prize for 'A View of Heidelberg'.

MSC Artist, George Bell wins the Crouch Prize.

1928 (Cont'd)

YC Artist, John Longstaff, becomes the first Australian knighted for services to art.

MSC Artist, George Bell is appointed art critic at the Sun News Pictorial

Former MSC Artist, James S. MacDonald is appointed Director of the AGNSW (1928-1936)

MSC member, Robert Dunlop Elliot, is appointed a Trustee of the NGV

The Harlequin Club merges with the Yorick Club.

1929

Artist, Sir John Longstaff rejoins the MSC

MSC Artist, Sir John Longstaff wins his second Archibald Prize with his portrait of W.A. Colman KC

MSC Artist, Louis McCubbin wins the Crouch Prize

MSC Artist, Sir John Longstaff becomes President of the YC (1929-30).

Black and White Artist, Len Reynolds joins the MSC.

MSC Artist, Blamire Young appointed art critic for the Melbourne Herald (till late 1934).

MSC Artist, Arthur Streeton, appointed art critic for the Argus (till late 1935).

1962

MSC Artist, Arnold Shore is elected President of the Victorian Artists Society.

The MSC hosts a 'Judicial Enquiry' into the Streeton-Heidelberg interpretation of the 'National School'.

The Yorick Club is forced to sell its two Streeton paintings.

1963

1964

Savage Artist, Len Annois, wins the Wynne Trustees' Watercolour Prize for 'Sand Dunes, Simpson Desert'.

YC Art Prize attracts a record 317 entries.

1965

1966

The Melbourne Savage Club and the Yorick Club merge

1967

1968

Artist, Robin Hill joins the MSC.

MSC Artist, Laurie Scott Pendelbury wins his third Wynne Prize for landscape with 'Road to Whistlewood'

MSC Artist, Sir William Dargie is appointed Dean of The National Gallery of Victoria Art School.

The Constitutional Club merges with the Melbourne Savage Club.